16 PAGES
IS 250

JERUSALEM

PALESTINIAN WEEKLY

(USPS 686-630)

DECEMBER 14, 1984
VOL.V,NO.241

exp. 85/04
Serial Records Division
Harvard College Library
Cambridge, Mass. 02138

POSTMASTER
Send address changes to:
Al-Fajr
2025 I Street N.W.
Washington, D.C.
20006

International Conference on the Question of Palestine, August 1983, Geneva/Archives

UN Assembly Backs Palestinian Rights

The UN General Assembly adopted December 12 four resolutions on the question of Palestine and Palestinian political rights. The United States and Israel vetoed all four resolutions.

The strongest resolution endorsed the Palestinian right to self-determination, to return and to establish an independent Palestinian state. The vote was 127 to 2 with 20 abstentions. The resolution asked the UN Committee on Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People to continue its cooperation with international organisations to promulgate information related to the Palestine cause.

The second resolution asked UN Secretary General Javier deCuellar to permit the UN department of public information to continue disseminating information. The vote was 130 to 3 with 17 abstentions.

The third endorsed the 1947 UN partition plan on Palestine. The vote was 131 to 3 (US, Israel and Canada) with 15 abstentions.

The fourth resolution was passed in two parts. In what is regarded as an important step, the UN called for an international peace conference on the Middle East. The second part of the resolution expressed regret that the United States and Israel have already said no to the proposal. The vote for the first part was 121 to 3 (US, Israel, Canada), with 23 abstentions. The second part was passed by 120 to 4 (US, Israel, Canada and Australia) with 22 abstentions.

The head of the PLO political department, Farouq Kaddoumi, met deCuellar December 12 and informed him of the Palestine National Council (PNC) resolutions. Kaddoumi expressed his regrets because there has been no progress towards a peaceful settlement in the area. He criticised the US and Israel for their anti-peace positions.

In the General Assembly, US ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick rejected the idea of an international peace conference, saying that only direct bilateral negotiations would have any meaning.

On December 7, Kaddoumi delivered a lengthy speech to the UN Assembly in which he affirmed that the Palestinian people will use all means of struggle to achieve their national rights. He called on the UN to adopt the idea of the international peace conference. He also called on the Western European countries to develop a more positive role to help reach a peaceful settlement in the Middle East.

Kaddoumi said that the new Labour-led Israeli government had brought about no political changes. He expressed his hope that UN members would exert efforts to convene an international peace conference that would be attended by all parties, including the PLO.

Three Villages Lose 1380 Dunums

Israeli authorities notified village elders and *mukhtars* in Rantis, Luban Gharbi and Aboud December 11 of their intention to confiscate 1380 dunums of land belonging to the three Ramallah villages. Israeli authorities declared the land 'state property.'

Landowners were given only one month to file land documents proving their ownership. A landowner in Rantis said the areas in which land is to be confiscated are Mutasalat, Marba'a, Khalet Salman, Sheb Balout, Karam Zewan and Khalet Abu Muqatel. Landowners said that 80 percent of the land is cultivated and the rest planted with olive trees.

According to a Rantis landowner, Israeli military authorities in Ramallah informed village *mukhtars* and landowners that a meeting would take place between authorities and landowners in Ramallah December 16. The landowner could give no more details.

In a related story, the military objections committee postponed December 11 discussions on Samu' village lands in the Hebron district which were declared state property. The committee decided to review evidence submitted by the state attorney Daniel Kramer and landowners. The case involves 600 dunums of land.

The Hawamdeh, Dagamin, Rawshdeh and Mahariq clans have challenged the authorities' claim on their land in court. Israeli Attorney Kramer claimed in court that part of the confiscated land was registered in 1978 as state property. Advocate Abdel Karim Namoura, who is representing the landowners, said Kramer's claim was patently false. He demanded the commit-

continued on page 4

IN THIS ISSUE

Israeli Hunters Kill and Run p.2
Um al-Fahm Lawyer Detained p.3
Lawyers Form League p.4
PLO Muffed Press Relations p.6
PNC Chairman Sheikh Abdel Hamid Sa'eh p.7
Israeli High Schools: Textbook Indoctrination on the Arab-Israeli Conflict ..... pp.8&9
Masrah al-Resala: Step on the Road to Success p.11
Israel Mandates Unequal Development for Palestinian Villages p.16

Tubas Family Demands Inquest Into Farmer's Shooting Death

The family of Abdullah Ali Anbousi, a 70-year-old man from Tubas who was killed November 27 by Israeli hunters, sent a letter to Israeli Minister of Police Haim Bar-Lev and the West Bank military governorate legal advisor, Lt. Colonel Yitzhaq Aksel, December 10 demanding an inquest into the death of their father. The elderly man was fatally shot while walking in his fields by Qasem Abu Hassan and his son, two Druze men from Julis in the Galilee.

The letter, sent on behalf of the family by lawyer Felicia Langer, said that a police investigation into the killing produced no arrests or charges, despite the fact that relatives of the deceased gave the names and a complete description of the two hunters to local police. Langer said that she wrote to Bar-Lev so that Israeli police would intervene in the case. West Bank police do not have jurisdiction inside the 'green line,' Israel's 1948 borders, where the two hunters live. "I hope you conduct a speedy investigation into the case in order to deter others and let them know that human life has to be defended," she wrote in her letter.

The killing occurred in the morning when Abdullah Anbousi and his relative, Hamed Mahmoud Daraghmeh, were walking in their fields outside Tubas. According to Daraghmeh, they parted company and suddenly he heard gunshots. When he turned around, the old man was lying on the ground bleeding. He said he saw two people running from the area. He ran and caught them, but they threatened to shoot him if he went to the police. The man then ran to town and notified police but by the time he sought help the old man was dead.

Daraghmeh's description of the two men corroborated with the description of another Tubas resident who happened to be in a nearby area. He reportedly said that the two men passed him in a hurry.

The family later obtained the names of the two men from other hunters who frequently visit the Tubas area. Muwafaq, one of the deceased man's sons, said that two hunters from Yarka, another Druze village near Julis, gave him the names after he described the two men for them.

The Israeli government only issues weapons to Arab residents who have close relations with the authorities, and to enlisted or reserve soldiers in the Israeli army.

US Lawyers Guild Tours West Bank

A delegation of American lawyers from the US National Lawyers' Guild arrived in the West Bank December 9 to interview local figures and collect updated information on the human rights situation in the occupied territories.

The 10 prominent lawyers from different US states — including Ohio, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Massachusetts and California — were scheduled to meet Palestinian lawyers, academicians, journalists, farmers and other residents, focusing on Palestinian political prisoners and the conditions in which they live.

Sources from the delegation said they will try to get permission to visit the newest Israeli prison, Jnaid, near Nablus in order to inspect conditions inside. Nearly 800 Palestinian political prisoners went on a two-week strike last September to protest conditions at the 'model' prison.

The American lawyers called on the elected mayor, Bassam Shaka'a, and on officials at Najah National University December 12. They are scheduled to visit Israeli settlements on the West Bank and Palestinian farmers in the Jordan Valley region during the coming week.

The National Lawyers' Guild has a membership of 7500 and is noted for activities in defence of Native American rights. The guild is also active in support of human rights in South and Latin America.

A delegation from the guild visited the occupied territories in 1977, also on a fact-finding mission. The team then published the result of their investigation after returning to the US.

THIS WEEK'S CENSORSHIP

Following is a breakdown of censorship cuts for issue 241, December 14, 1984:

Number of original articles submitted to censors	**18**
Number of articles totally censored out	**10**
Number of articles mutilated beyond use	**1**
Number of articles partially censored but used	**1**
Number of articles passed	**6**

Lebanese Resistance Hammers Away at Israeli Forces

The Lebanese resistance continued to batter Israeli occupation forces in south Lebanon this week. Israeli military sources issued short news items about a few of the resistance attacks, in which they said there were no casualties suffered. Lebanese sources reported the commando raids but had no accurate figures on possible casualties.

A landmine exploded December 12 when an Israeli military vehicle passed near Jibshit village in southern Lebanon. Another military vehicle belonging to the Israeli-backed South Lebanon Army (SLA) was also attacked the same day while travelling north of Tyre. Israeli forces combed the area, but there were no reports of arrests.

Nationalist Lebanese fighters carried out four military operations against Israeli military patrols on December 9 and 10. Three military vehicles travelling near Kfar Ala on the road leading to Aqabieh, and another one near Ghandoura, were attacked. Lebanese sources said several Israeli soldiers were killed or wounded and a military vehicle was completely destroyed. The Israeli is issued no casualty report, however.

Lebanese fighters also opened fire near the Bater ceasefire line between Israeli and Syrian forces but there was no report of casualties.

Lebanon Radio reported that Israeli soldiers opened fire on Ansar camp prisoners December 10. Several detainees were wounded, the radio reported. Israeli war planes also buzzed the region, breaking the sound barrier over the Beqa'a in the Lebanon mountains and in southern Lebanon.

On December 9, Lebanese fighters attacked a military position belonging to the SLA near Arab Salim village. The fighters used Katyusha and RPG rockets. On the same day, Israeli forces discovered a large missile directed at Israeli intelligence centre in Tyre. Israeli sappers defused it.

On December 8 Lebanese resistance attacked an Israeli military vehicle near Qasimieh. The vehicle was partially destroyed and all soldiers inside were wounded. Another military vehicle belonging to the SLA was attacked on the same day and three soldiers were wounded. Israel Radio reported that a Katyusha rocket fell near a military position in Hasbaya but no casualties were reported.

Lebanese and Israeli negotiating teams meeting at the south Lebanese town of Ras al-Naqoura encountered a setback this week when the Israeli team refused the Lebanese plan to deploy the Lebanese army in south Lebanon after an Israeli withdrawal.

The Israeli team insisted on reaching a detailed agreement on the role, deployment and operational zone of the UN interim forces in Lebanon. The Lebanese delegation presented December 6 two maps: the first outlined the Lebanese army's proposed deployment and the second suggested where UNIFIL forces should be stationed. The Israeli delegation rejected both, however.

Israeli authorities reportedly want to limit UNIFIL's involvement and use rightist Lebanese forces to occupy southern Lebanon after a withdrawal of their troops. Lebanese authorities consider this an infringement on Lebanese sovereignty.

7 Dead, 28 Wounded

in Intra-Lebanese Fighting

Violent clashes have taken place this week in the Kharoub region of Lebanon between militias of the Socialist Progressive Party (PSP) and soldiers of the regular Lebanese army. Seven Lebanese died and 26 were injured in the clashes. Two French observers were also injured.

The fighting, which erupted December 9, is mostly centered in the area south of Beirut. At issue is control of the important coastal road which connects the almost exclusively Druse Kharoub region with southern Lebanon.

The heavy clashes included 35 Lebanese villages. They began when the Lebanese army attempted to mobilise its forces on the coastal road from Beirut to the Awali River, the northern occupation point of Israeli army forces. The fiercest clashes centered on Souq al-Gharb, the first major village from the sea. Lebanese newspapers said that the security plan which the army was implementing had been approved by Syrian officials. Walid Jumblatt, Minister of Public Works and head of the PSP, opposed the mobilisation of the Lebanese army in the Kharoub. He fears it will isolate the Druse and weaken their military and political position. Lebanese papers reported that intensive political negotiations were underway between Lebanese President Amin Gemayel, Prime Minister Rashid Karameh and Jumblatt to amend the disputed security plan. According to the papers a formula in which the Lebanese army will conduct periodic patrol rounds instead of setting up permanent posts was suggested. There was no word on whether the Druze leader accepted the suggestion or not.

Mysterious Car-Burnings In Ramallah, Bethlehem

Arsonists set fire to a car belonging to a Batir village teacher December 9. The incident was the fifth car burning in one week in the Bethlehem and Ramallah areas. Local sources attribute the attacks to both personal and political vendettas.

Mohammed Ismael Hussein 'Oweineh, 55, a secondary school teacher in the village, discovered the fire in his garage at around 1:30 in the morning. His family and neighbours rushed with water buckets but they were too late to save the car. Family sources said that the saboteurs apparently started the fire by pouring a flammable substance over it.

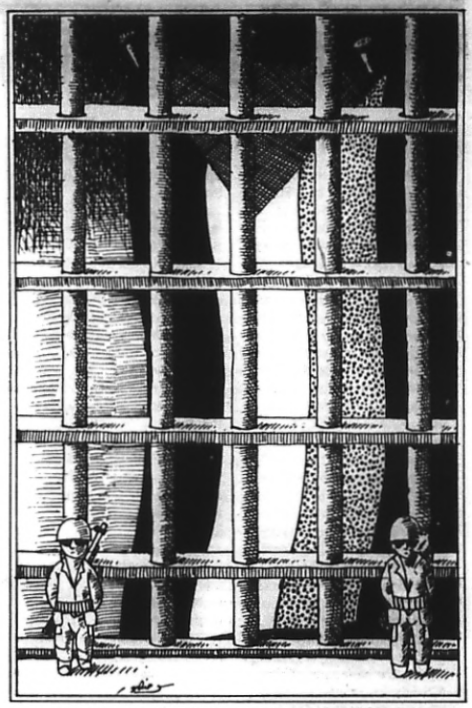
Batir residents blamed Israeli collaborators for the fire. "Only people who have a vested interest in feeding internal conflicts would commit such acts," he said. 'Oweineh is well-respected in the village, and has never been the target of any attacks.

In another incident the same evening, unidentified people tried to burn the car of Farid George Ayyoub from Beit Jala. The car owner woke up before the fire spread and managed to extinguish the flames. The car suffered some damage.

Two days earlier, the car of Zuhair Bakir from Ramallah, a 1984 Mercedes, was completely burned after unknown arsonists set it afire. The car was parked in front of his home near the Men's Teachers Training Centre in Ramallah.

During the two previous days at least two other car burnings were reported in the Ramallah area.

Lawyer Abu Hussein Detained for 'Political Revenge'



A prominent Palestinian lawyer from Um al-Fahm in the Triangle was arrested December 6 on political charges based on 'secret testimony.' Legal sources close to the lawyer say that the charges are fabricated and that authorities are taking political revenge on the lawyer for his nationalist activities.

Hussein Abu Hussein, 32, was arrested at his office in Khdeira (Hadera) on Thursday morning. Israeli policemen searched the office thoroughly and confiscated books and leaflets. Lawyer Riyad Anis, a friend of Abu Hussein, said the books were printed in Jerusalem. They also confiscated a calendar which featured a picture of PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat and a Palestinian flag. Saleh Abu Hussein, Hussein's younger brother and law partner in the office, was arrested December 10 for one day because he "shares possession of the calendar," the police said. The police also searched Abu Hussein's family home but did not confiscate anything.

Abu Hussein, an outspoken member of *Abna' al-Balad*, a Palestinian nationalist movement active in the Galilee and Triangle area, was accused of leading a group allegedly responsible for armed attacks on Arab houses in the Galilee. Israeli police say that these attacks were perpetrated for revenge on people close to Israeli authorities. The lawyer was remanded on December 7 for 14 days after police presented the court with "secret evidence."

Arab lawyers inside the 'Green Line' met in Um al-Fahm December 7 and formed a defence committee for Abu Hussein. Sources close to the committee said they are certain the charges are fabricated and that Abu Hussein's arrest was arranged to discredit the lawyer for his political views. Lawyer Mohammed Kewan, a member of the defence team, and Anis were also arrested December 7 for several hours after they tried to visit Abu Hussein at the A'ra police station. They were accused of publishing the lawyer's name in defiance of court orders.

The defence team filed an appeal to the Haifa district court December 11 to release Abu Hussein on bail.

Lawyer Amnon Zichroni told the court that the charges are based on testimony from an 18-year-old youth who has a criminal record. The lawyer also charged that the police bought off the youth to make this confession in exchange for releasing him without trial. The court is expected to rule December 13 on the petition to release the lawyer on bail.

The defence lawyers also requested and obtained permission for the lawyer to be transferred from al-Jalameh prison, known for its bad conditions to the police lock-up at A'ra police station.

The defence lawyers sent letters to Israeli Minister of Police Haim Bar-Lev, the Israeli government's legal advisor and the Israeli lawyers union protesting the lawyer's detention and explaining the circumstances surrounding his arrest. The Association for the Development of Education and Culture in the Arab Sector, which is headed by Abu Hussein, and the Centre for Reviving Culture, located in Taibeh in the Triangle, issued a joint statement December 10 condemning the arrest as "an unjustified attack on the association." The statement also called for Abu Hussein's immediate release so that he can return to his normal duties.

Abna' al-Balad sources reported that they have received solidarity messages for the lawyer from European committees. The reports said that several French institutions cabled the Israeli embassy in Paris to protest the detention.

In addition to his work on culture and education programmes, Abu Hussein served on the last Um al-Fahm local council representing the *Abna' al-Balad* movement. He is a frequent defender of political prisoners in Israel and in the West Bank.

Hebron Bus Co. On Verge of Military - Forced Bankruptcy

The 55-year-old National Hebron Bus Company, the largest Arab bus company in the Hebron district, has cut services to stem a severe financial crisis. The crisis stems from a number of factors — heavy taxation, inflation, restriction of services, and the forced transfer of its 34 buses from the Hebron bus station in the centre of town to a new site on the outskirts.

The company operates routes between Jerusalem and Hebron and to scores of villages and towns in the Hebron district. Its deficit has grown from IS1 million to IS2.5 million since Israeli authorities confiscated the bus station and ordered transfer of the buses June 13, 1982. The buses were moved out of the old bus station at Hebron centre to the Wadi Tufah area on the town's periphery. Israeli authorities claimed that the old station was historic Jewish property and have kept an army post on the site. The National Hebron Bus Company challenged this decision and filed a complaint with the Israeli High Court. The case is still pending with the decision expected in January, 1985.

Commenting on the company's current condition, Ra'ef Ebaidu, the company's deputy manager, told *Al Fajr*: "We are planning to file a complaint in the Israeli High Court against the Hebron military governorate."

In an effort to cut expenses the bus company decided December 3 to ground five buses which had been transferring workers daily from Hebron to Israeli factories in Jerusalem and Beer Sheba.

The Israeli military governor in Hebron exacerbated the crisis December 6 when he summoned the company's manager, Fayez Daoud Qawasmi, and ordered him not to send his buses on private trips or to transport prisoners' families on visits without prior permission from the Hebron military governorate. Qawasmi was made to sign a pledge to pay IS50,000 if he dispatches any of his buses on such trips.

"This move hindered our plans to overcome the crisis we are encountering and tremendously worsened our economic conditions," Ebaidu told *Al Fajr*. As a result of this order, the company will lose 27 trips to Israeli prisons in Beer Sheba, Nafha, Nablus, Jenin and Tulkarm, which are organized monthly by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). The company is also losing its passengers on the Jerusalem-Hebron route as a result of competition from Israeli-owned companies.

"The complaint will stress the fact that the Hebron governorate is violating the law by levying restrictions on our trips," said Ebaidu. "We have had a concession to operate bus lines in the West Bank for 55 years. We would demand the cancellation of the latest measures taken against us." Ebaidu stressed that he has documents and reliable accounts to prove that the National Hebron Bus Company is losing so much money that it may become bankrupt within six months.

Ebaidu explained that unstable diesel and tyre prices — which have risen 150 per cent in the last few months — also worsened conditions. "Such heavy taxation is no longer acceptable," Ebaidu said. "We cannot afford to pay IS1.5 million every month for value-added and income tax. Meanwhile, there is no rise in our ticket prices," he added. He expects that "Next month, the deficit will be IS4 million."

"In the name of the company, its 100-employees, and residents served by the company," said Ebaidu, "I appeal to all those concerned about the existence of the National Hebron Bus Company to do their utmost to save it."

Private Land Arsoned Near Settlements

A huge fire set by arsonists swept over privately owned land, recently confiscated by Israeli military authorities, near Bala village, nine kilometres northeast of Tulkarm December 8. The fire destroyed olive and almond groves.

Landowner Tawfiq Ibrahim Shahrour who owns 400 dunums on Muntar mountain told reporters, "When I heard about the fire on my land I called the Nablus fire brigade which came immediately around midnight. With help from neighbours the brigade finally brought the fire under control."

Al Ittihad newspaper adds the following:

"A number of residents said they noticed a peugeot car in the area.

"Shahrour plowed a road through his land last year to facilitate his farm work. He said that Israelis then sent bulldozers to the spot and began to build a settlement on his land. Shahrour appealed to the Israeli High Court and received an order *nisi* in December 1983 stopping settler action on the site.

"The landowner and his son also rejected an offer of land purchase made by the military governor. The military governor then notified Shahrour and his son that the land was confiscated.

"Shahrour told *Al Ittihad* newspaper correspondent that he has Turkish land deeds [proving ownership] and he will continue the fight in court.

"Shahrour's land overlooks Natania, Anot and Homish settlements. Bala' village is 21,151 dunums in area and its forests were used for refuge by Palestinian fighters in the 1936 revolution." (Translation: Al Ittihad, December 11, 1984)

MILITARY UPHOLDS TOWN ARREST ON JOURNALIST FARRAJ

The Israeli Military Objections Committee held a closed session December 9 to discuss the appeal of journalist Hamdi Farraj against the town arrest order imposed on him more than one-and-a-half years ago. Farraj is from Dheisheh refugee camp.

During the last committee session July 12, when it was decided to postpone the meeting, Farraj's lawyer, Lea Tsemel, threatened to boycott any further committee meetings unless secret files the Israeli prosecution possesses against Farraj are uncovered. The objections committee rejected the lawyer's demand.

The December 9 court session was not attended either by Tsemel or her client. The lawyer later learned that the objections committee recommended the town arrest against Farraj be upheld. (Translation: Al Mithaq, December 10, 1984)

Palestinian Lawyers 'Inside' Unionise to Stem Harassment

Twenty-six Palestinian lawyers in the Galilee and Triangle met December 9 in the Um al-Fahm town council hall in an organisational meeting to form an Arab Lawyers League. The league, made up of Palestinian lawyers who are licensed to practice law in Israel and in the occupied territories, will act as a lobbying force within the Israeli Lawyers Union to oppose discrimination practised by Israeli police against both the lawyers in their profession and the local Arab population.

The lawyers elected a temporary five-person committee to consider all the legal aspects involved in forming the league. The Arab Lawyers League could conceivably include more than 400 Palestinian lawyers working in Israeli as well as West Bank and Gaza courts.

Lawyer Mohammed Kewan told *Al Fajr* the lawyers will use an Israeli law concerning forming new societies as a legal base for the league apart from the Israeli Lawyers Union. He said all practicing Arab lawyers will be called upon to attend a meeting in the future.

Kewan said the lawyers league is an urgent need for all Arab lawyers in the Galilee and Triangle. Kewan said "Every lawyer can give you 100 examples of the discriminatory policies practised in police stations against Arab lawyers." Kewan himself, and advocate Riyadh Anis from Khedaira, were detained for three hours at A'ra police station December 10 and prevented from seeing their client, another lawyer, Hussein Abu Hussein. Abu Hussein was arrested last week on political charges. An Israeli lawyer, David Hanin, was allowed in to see Abu Hussein.

Another Palestinian lawyer, Saleh Abu Hussein, was arrested December 10 because he hung a picture of Yasir Arafat in his office.

Kewan said he contacted David Leva'e, head of the Israeli lawyers union, and notified him of the lawyers' intention to form the league. "The conditions are ripe now to form such a league," Kewan said.

MANY THANKS

Elias Anton Siniora
Palestinian from Jerusalem

Thanks the administration and medical team at the SKANDERBORG SYGEHUS hospital in Denmark for the efforts and good care they have given him while being treated at their hospital for a heart attack.

December 14

JERUSALEM — Teacher's Day celebration sponsored by the Government School Teacher's Committee at El Hakawati Theatre, 9:30 am.

JERUSALEM — Play: *Ali, the Galilean*, presented by El-Hakawati Theatre Group at the El-Hakawati Theatre, 7:00 pm. (Arabic, English translation available). Tel: 280957.

December 20

JERUSALEM — Get Together Party, sponsored by the theatre department of the Arab Thought Forum. Forum offices, East Jerusalem, 4:00 pm. Tel: 289126.

December 20

JERUSALEM — Movie *Oh, God*, starring John Denver and George Burns, El Hakawati Theatre, 7:00 pm. Tel: 280957.

December 16, 21 22

1380 Dunums Lost

continued from page 1

tee not base their rulings on land registration documents obtained from Bir Saba'.

The military objections committee also heard arguments December 10 in cases involving Deir Istia, Kufr Labad and Shofeh land in the Tulkarm district. They decided to form a special committee to investigate whether the lands are cultivated or not. Jawad Boulos and Felicia Langer, who represent landowners in these three villages, said the military objections committee insists on presentation of land deeds from Turkish times in order to prove ownership. The lawyers say, however, that 70 percent of West Bank land is not registered on Turkish land documents.

On December 8 the military objections committee also discussed Yatta and Dura land cases, concerning land confiscated a few months ago. Authorities claim that 1000 dunums in Yatta and 600 dunums in Dura are state property. No court decision has yet been reached. (Translation: Local Arabic press, December 13, 1984)

Anti-Nationalist Cell Sentenced in Gaza

Israeli military court in Gaza sentenced five Gazans to prison terms ranging between 9 and 13 years for membership in a Muslim fundamentalist organisation and possession of weapons.

The group's leader, Ahmad Sheikh Yassin, who heads the Islamic Association in Gaza, was sentenced to 13 years in jail.

The other four members of the group were sentenced to the following: Abd al-Rahman Timraz, 12 years; Mohammed Shihab and Mohammed Mohrah, 10 years each; and Mohammed Ahmed Samarah, nine years.

The charge sheet stated that the group was promulgating holy war — *Jihad* — to overthrow Israel and replace it with an Islamic state. The group was also accused of receiving JD12,000 from Jordanian government officials.

The defence lawyer asked the court to take the health of Sheikh Yassin into consideration. The sheikh, who attended his trial in a wheel chair, is completely paralyzed. His lawyer's request that Yassin be allowed to serve his prison term at home was turned down.

The Jerusalem Post quoted the spokesperson for the Gaza military governorate saying the group was "frightening" and that these religious fanatics do not hesitate to commit suicide.

Hirsch to Sue Kollek For 'Clown' Charge

Rabbi Moshe Hirsch, spokesman for the ultra-orthodox anti-Zionist Neturei Karta movement, intends to sue Jerusalem's Mayor Teddy Kollek for US$51 million, *Al Fajr* has learned. Hirsch will sue unless the mayor officially retracts derogatory statements made by municipal officials against Hirsch.

Rafi Davara, official spokesman for the West Jerusalem municipality, was quoted in the local Jerusalem supplement *Kol Yerushalim* as calling Hirsch a "clown, a village fool." Davara denied a reported meeting between Mayor Kollek and Hirsch.

Hirsch's attorney sent a letter to both Davara and Kollek demanding a public apology in one of the major Israeli papers. Otherwise, the letter said, Hirsch would sue for defamation of character. Hirsch insists that a meeting between him and Kollek took place back in September 1979 when Hirsch and other rabbis met with Kollek and his deputy at the Israeli museum in response to a plea from Kollek. According to Hirsch, Kollek had asked for the meeting upon returning from a trip abroad where he was continuously harassed by orthodox demonstrators opposing the controversial Ramot Road, a thoroughfare built through an orthodox neighbourhood not closed to traffic on the Sabbath.

In a telephone interview with *Al Fajr* Davara retractd his denial of the Kollek Hirsch meeting but maintained his description of Hirsch as a "clown." Davara said he has proof of the fact that Hirsch is a "clown." Regarding the meeting, Davara admitted the meeting took place but insisted it was at the initiative of Hirsch. Davara said that because the meeting was at night Kollek suggested it take place in his office at the Israel museum. "Anyway I did not know about the meeting because I was in the army during September 1979," Davara said. He added that it would be interesting to see Hirsch sue Kollek in a Zionist court since the rabbi is anti-Zionist.

Rabbi Hirsch, considered the "Foreign Minister" of the Neturei Karta movement, called Davara's statement "a blatant lie." Hirsch said Israel Radio reporter Moti Eden had contacted him on behalf of Kollek in 1979 and that Hirsch had insisted on a neutral meeting place, so the museum was suggested. Hirsch also insisted that Davara knew of the meeting. "Davara himself called me the next day September 14 at 11:00 am at the telephone number I had given Kollek," Hirsch maintained

Rabbi Hirsch said that in accordance with orthodox practices, he will first summon Kollek to a religious ecclesiastical court. If he refuses to appear, he will be summoned to a secular court.

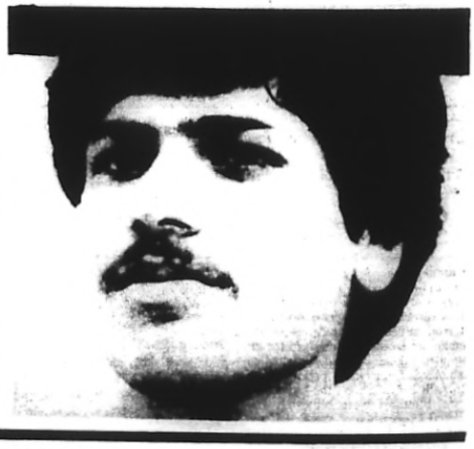
As to the amount demanded in the suit, Hirsch said that if "Ariel Sharon, whose name is mud according to the Israeli media, can sue *Time* magazine for US$50 million, then I in the capacity of head of the Theological seminary who serves the orthodox Jewish community may certainly demand more than Sharon."

Abu Ain's Mother Appeals for Son's Release

Ramallah resident Miriam Abu Ain appealed December 11 to international institutions in France, Britain and the United States, urging all concerned to exert more efforts to pressure Israeli authorities for the release of her son Ziad Abu Ain.

In her appeal, Abu Ain noted that her son's name was included in the list drawn up for the November 25, 1983 prisoner exchange between Israel and the PLO but that Israeli authorities had not released him.

The Israeli government extradited Ziad Abu Ain from the United States in 1981 and sentenced him to life imprisonment in 1982 on charges of placing a bomb in Tiberias. Abu Ain has continuously denied the charges. (Translation: Al Quds, December 12, 1984)



The Dawn

AL FAJR

AL FAJR – Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly

Publisher:
Paul A. Ajlouny
Editor:
Hanna Siniora

Tel: (02) 281035
P.O. Box 19315
East Jerusalem

Telex no.s:
Jerusalem: 26467 omar il
Washington: 64677 omar uw

Al Fajr was founded in 1972 by Yusef Nasr, who edited the paper until his kidnapping in 1974. The English edition was first published in April 1980. **The Dawn (Al Fajr) Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (UPS 686630)** is published weekly for $50.00 per year by Paul Ajlouny, 16 Crowell St., Hempstead. N.Y. 11550. Second class postage paid at Hempstead, N.Y.
POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Al Fajr 2025 I Street, N.W., Suite 925, Washington D.C., 20006.

Discriminatory Law

This week Israeli police authorities arrested lawyer Hussein Abu Hussein, head of the Association for the Development of Culture and Education in the Arab Sector, on trumped up charges of leading an organisation which attacked Arabs who collaborate with Israel. According to unofficial sources, accusations are based on a confession given by an Arab known for criminal offenses who claimed he was connected with the lawyer in the alleged organisation.

In 1980 Israel introduced a law to replace administrative detention orders based on the British Defence (Emergency) Regulations which had earned a great deal of international protest. The new law permits Israeli courts and judges to convict someone on charges produced by the government or any of its attached bodies based only on the testimony of another person.

Such a law constitutes a danger to human rights and a constant threat to every unwelcome resident of the state which applies it. The law allows the government and its affiliated bodies to frame an innocent resident or citizen of the state – based only on what amounts to premeditated hatred on the part of another individual or an official, not to mention government agencies. Considering that the whole educational system in Israel targets Arabs as objects of suspicion and hatred by Israeli Jewish citizens, this law jeopardises the status of every Arab (Palestinian) who has lived under Israeli control since 1948.

Lawyer Hussein Abu Hussein is certainly not the first target hit by such a law, and he will not be the last.

All peace-loving nations and human rights defenders must campaign to help the Palestinian people escape the organised and legalised brutality enforced on them by the state of Israel.

This law and other similar laws must be abolished. Lawyer Hussein Abu Hussein must be freed immediately.

Meron Benvenisti:

Independent West Bank Inevitable Despite Israeli Colonisation

by Al Hamishmar Staff

Meron Benvinisti has been working for the last few years on the "West Bank and Gaza Strip Project." Funded by both the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations, he collects data on what is happening on the West Bank and publishes a yearly report called "The West Bank Data Project" which is put out in book form by the American Enterprise Institute of Washington DC. He is considered an expert in his field and I couldn't have found a more suitable candidate to ask about the prime minister's recent declaration regarding improving the quality of life for the population in the West Bank.

Q: Prime Minister Shimon Peres wants to improve the quality of life on the West Bank. Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin agrees with Peres' plan but prefers to speak about raising the standard of living on the West Bank. Are they talking about a unilateral implementation of the autonomy plan in the occupied territories?

A: Perhaps they are, but I really don't have a clue about what they have in mind. The Americans coined the term "raising the quality of life" two years ago but it was never clear just what they meant by it. Is it an attempt to build an independent economic infrastructure for the Palestinians, or an attempt to improve their individual standard of living? The latter could be seen as a continuation of the process of trying to buy off the population; the idea is that if people are doing well economically, they won't get involved with terrorism. The Americans called it "pacification" back in the Vietnam era. It's also refered to as "community development." Anyway, their standard of living is on the rise no matter what.

As regards an independent Palestinian economic infrastructure – every Israeli government since 1967 has opposed this idea. The policy on Israeli Arabs is no different. It is founded on the notion that an independent Arab economic infrastructure would lay the foundations for political autonomy, a Palestinian state and so on. As long as the Arabs have to rely on the Israeli economy, the government can turn on the tap whenever it wants, thus controlling the population of the occupied territories.

Which of these two plans Peres wants to implement is a mystery to me. I doubt that any decisions have actually been reached or that anyone can distinguish between the two. But I don't think that the idea of improving the quality of life in the occupied territories is an Israeli initiative. Both the Americans and the Egyptians have been bandying this idea about since the autonomy talks. The Americans call i. "an improvement in the quality of life" of the residents of the occupied territories and the Egyptians refer to it as "steps to build trust." Half a year before the Israeli general elections, the Americans approached Moshe Arens, then minister of defence, regarding this issue. With the formation of a new government the Americans saw an opening for a thaw in both US-Israeli and Egyptian-Israeli relations. Secretary of State George Shultz is personally interested in such a move. And that's how the West Bank became an issue.

Q: If I've understood you correctly, you seem to be saying that what is in the cards is not the development of an independent Palestinian economic infrastructure, but rather, an attempt to raise the standard of living for people in the occupied territories. The construction of a hospital has been given a green light, a plan to improve the sewage system and the establishment of a bank have been approved, but the government has refused to allow a cement factory to be established because it would compete with the two existing cement factories in Israel.

A: The question is – what's going to happen next? There's a group of American Jews, led by Steve Cohen [Director of the Institute for Middle East Peace and Development at CUNY – ed.], and a group of American Arabs who seem to be interested in the economic development of the West Bank. They have even put forward certain proposals. There are two or three projects that have been on the drawing board for years: a bank and a cement factory in Hebron. As regards the bank – there is no way to get credit on the West Bank and that *ipso facto* rules out economic development. Israeli banks don't extend credit to concerns on the West Bank and even if they did, the government would have the final say on who gets credit and who doesn't. The Palestinians themselves haven't been involved in this process even though the whole idea is for them to do it on their own.

The proposal for a bank was first put forward back in 1968; at the time, the principal stumbling block was who would supervise its operation. The Bank of Israel couldn't take that role without it appearing to be an annexationist move and Jordan could never agree to that; on the other hand, the Israelis weren't prepared to let the Bank of Jordan take that role. Negotiations are now taking place but I have no idea how they will solve the problem. Actually, I'm quite pessimistic. If the negotiations fall through, we'll claim that we gave the go ahead and the other side is to blame.

A bank is only the monetary stepping stone to the establishment of an independent economy. But it is impossible to operate in a situation where the government refuses to approve the construction of a cement factory or spadework for the cultivation of large tracts of land. Let me provide you with a few examples. Since 1979 they haven't permitted people on the West Bank to acquire heavy duty agricultural equipment. There have been a lot of requests from Qalqilya, Hebron, Jericho and many other places. You see, if they begin to work the land, the government won't be able to claim it as state land. Since 1980 they have refused to permit the establishment of an advanced polytechnic program in Hebron. Since 1981 they have refused to approve the construction of a flour mill in Jenin. Vocational training programmes have run up against the same obstacle.

continued on page 13

OPINION

AL FAJR invites our readers to contribute letters, articles and opinions. Contributions must be signed, but names may be withheld upon request.

Israel's Fossil-Aged Attitude Toward the PLO

by Yehuda Ben Moshe

It often comes to pass that decisions too long neglected by competent and authorised leaders are effectively made by other unexpected actors on the political scene. This again seemed to be the case concerning the Israeli attitude towards the 17th meeting of the Palestine National Council a few days ago.

For various reasons on the Arab side, nobody can be sure whether there existed any reasonable chance for the highest Palestinian institution to develop and adopt a realistic attitude towards a peaceful and constructive settlement of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. But one decisive actor in this important issue — Israel — unfortunately continues to display a sterile and therefore harmful attitude, even from the point of view of her own national interest.

Listening to the usual indignant noises in the Israeli parliament and government over the well-intended iniative of MK Abd al-Wahab Darawsheh, I was sorry and perplexed over two particular points connected with this subject. Sorry — over the operational ineptitude on the side of the PLO (or perhaps their Jordanian hosts) to arrange the transportation of their invited guest before the expected storm in Israel would gain negative momentum. Perplexed — over the sad panorama of so many of my fellow Israelis, politicians and simple citizens alike, persevering in their fossil-aged and deplorable attitude towards the central actor on the Arab side of the conflict — the Palestinians, represented by the PLO.

Being familiar with the Israeli political scene, I did not expect any substantial change in outlook and attitude from the Likud part of the national unity government. What causes me a feeling of anxiety and apprehension is the attitude of the Labour Party and most of its representatives in the Knesset, especially that of Prime Minister Shimon Peres. Instead of learning something from recent experience in the Middle East about the unbearable price to Israel for continuous evasion from adopting a realistic attitude towards Palestinian nationhood, the Labour Party continues to display an incomprehensible incapacity to cope with this fundamental issue. The only explanation for this fateful neglect in my eyes is their chronic lack of courage to stand up against the militant position of the Likud and their hopeless attempt to compete with their rivals in extremist nationalism and in patriotic "respectability."

For the sake of fairness, I am obliged to mention a paradoxical exception on the Labour side of the present unity government. The sometimes unfathomable laws of history sometimes give birth to such surprising phenomena as the incalculable Ezer Weizman. Since his important and constructive participation in the Camp David negotiations and the attainment of the Egyptian-Israeli peace agreement, Weizman has renewed his previous brilliant military and political career — part of it in former Likud-led governments — and turned into one of the most peace-minded members of the present Israeli government. I would not be surprised if with such an exceptional approach he might have as many problems with most of his new Alignment colleagues as with Likud government members in the future.

From the point of view of attaining an Israeli-Palestinian peace agreement in the not-too-distant future, parts of Arafat's opening address to the council meeting in Amman were not exactly a very valuable contribution to peace. As a former officer in the Israeli army and a veteran member of the active Israeli peace camp, I do not see much reason to sound again the old-fashioned theme of "continued armed struggle" against Israel. If this should really be attempted in practice, we shall all be firmly united in fighting back as in the past. Nobody will achieve any real results by that and much unnecessary blood will again be spilled on both sides.

Like Abd al-Wahab Darawsheh, who unfortunately was prevented from bringing his views before the Palestine National Council, I too am a firm believer in Palestinian national self-determination, expressed in reality by the establishment of an independent Palestinian state, maybe later on in the form of a Palestinian-Jordanian confederation. But that long overdue and inevitable settlement of our long conflict can only be attained at the negotiating table and definitely not by shooting it out.

Personally, I even do not care about the chapters of the Palestinian National Charter, as I attribute them no more practical significance than I do the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion." In my estimation, most Palestinians are not any less intelligent than the average Israeli, and I therefore have no doubt that sooner or later Israeli and Palestinian representatives will meet at the negotiating table. After all, that was the case even with France and Germany, who in the course of a hundred years fought three most terrible wars over some stretches of Alsace-Lorraine, until they finally reached the conclusion that the blood of millions of their people is of perhaps no less value than any disputed piece of territory, especially if its borders are open to all.

With this firm belief in future peaceful relations between the independent states of Israel and Palestine, I pay my full respects to the blessed initiative of Knesset-member Abd al-Wahab Darawsheh.

Yehuda Ben Moshe
Jerusalem

PLO Muffed Press Relations in Amman

by Maher AbuKhater

The way PLO officials handled the press during the week-long PNC session from November 22-29 was strongly criticised by at least one foreign correspondent who returned from Amman to his regular base in Jerusalem who covered its meetings. Some of the criticisms included:

* On the first day of the session, foreign correspondents were not informed what to do, especially about obtaining accreditation to cover the meeting. Correspondents, who numbered in the hundreds, went around the conference area searching for people to ask where and how to get accreditation. Some were lucky and found their way but many others were not able to cover the important opening session.

* Yasir Arafat's speech, considered the highlight of the opening session, did not reach the foreign correspondents in official translated form until 24 hours later. But even then, several copies had the last three pages of the speech missing. One correspondent said the session concluded its meetings and the three pages were still missing.

* Foreign correspondents were told during the week that Arafat was going to hold a press conference. They were given a time, date and location and many of them rushed there on schedule to cover it. They waited for seven hours and Arafat did not show up. His aides kept on telling the reporters to wait and finally told them that the conference has been cancelled.

These are some of the complaints cited by the foreign correspondents which seemed to have annoyed several of them to a great deal. One PNC member seemed to have supported the foreign correspondents' complaints when he spoke on the second day of the conference urging the PNC's secretariat to pay more attention to reporters. The member noted that there were many reporters left outside the building because they could not get accreditation.

Local concerned Palestinians argued that foreign correspondents were not fair in their criticism. They argued that foreign reporters came to Amman with a "western" mentality, expecting everything to be ready for them upon arrival. Real reporters, they said, have to fight for their information, not expect it to be given them. The PLO is not a state and has no ground to operate from in order to accommodate reporters, the Palestinians said. It is therefore unfair to expect the PLO information system to be equal to that of Israel's for example, as the western reporters always try to look for similarities and differences between the two irreconcilable enemies.

The Palestinians also argued that the PNC meeting was only called a week earlier and there was not enough time to prepare for everything, like furnishing translators or even knowing how many reporters to expect. Besides, they say, the PLO is not the United Nations which has paid official translators working for it fulltime. And it is the duty of correspondents to furnish their own translators.

As for accreditation, the Palestinians argued there were so many reporters in Amman that there was no way the PLO could handle all of them and maintain security. It was difficult for the PLO to check on every incoming reporter and give that journalist immediate accreditation.

The press conference: In a revolution you cannot expect the revolution's leader to be anywhere at any time, the Palestinians say. Arafat's failure to show, therefore, must have been for legitimate reasons which are probably much more important than meeting with foreign press. Reporters who have met Arafat in the past know very well that when they request an interview with the PLO chairman, they only have to sit and wait. They are never given a standing date or place but may be visited by Arafat's aides at any time of the day or night and taken to meet him in an unknown place. Arafat may not have shown up at the press conference, the Palestinians said, due to security reasons.

Regardless of arguments advocated by both sides, the PLO is not only physically at war but is also being informationally battled by almost the whole world. It may be true that handling all these reporters is somewhat difficult for a developed state, let alone a landless revolutionary movement that has its own internal problems. It does not mean the PLO should not have done its best to accommodate all reporters. No one doubts that the PLO leadership at the PNC wanted as much press coverage as possible, especially in this critical session.

Many of the reporters who came from all over the world to cover the PNC may have had some sympathy towards the Palestinian cause. The foreign reporters who have criticised the press handling in Amman did not act out of prejudice against the PLO but out of concern for its worldwide reputation. The PLO itself is trying to improve its image through its multi-million dollar budget media campaign. The PLO is known throughout the world to be one of the most active publicity campaigners in the Arab world and even among the developing countries. Foreign reporters, therefore, expected it to live up to its reputation when they came to Amman. They were disappointed when things did not go as smoothly as they hoped.

The PLO could have handled the press much more efficiently if it spent some time on organisation. There is no doubt it would have found many volun-

continued on page 13

Sheikh Abdel Hamid Sa'eh:

The PNC Chairman and the Task of Unity

by Said al-Ghazali

The Palestine National Council has chosen Sheikh Abdel Hamid Abdel Halim Sa'eh, a 77-year-old Moslem Sheikh, as its new chairman. Sa'eh, the first sheikh ever to chair the PNC, stands out as a prominent Palestinian.

Little is known to young people about his personal life, however Sa'eh is popular among the older generation as an ardent nationalist. The stalwart Palestinian nationalist has attended all PNC sessions since 1964 and reportedly has good relations with both left and right in the PLO. Without question, however, Sheikh Sa'eh is now faced with a difficult task — to mend the rift between the PLO factions. Since Sa'eh has both witnessed and participated in many critical moments in Palestinian history throughout the century, many people think he is a proper choice to chair the PNC.

He has paid a heavy personal price for his involvement. Deported from the West Bank in 1967, the father of six has not seen most of his family since. His wife, who died in Jerusalem a few months ago, had been forbidden to leave the West Bank to visit Sa'eh for the last two years.

Religious Nationalist

Born in Nablus in 1907, Sheikh Sa'eh was raised according to traditional Moslem religious values. He attended high school in Nablus and went on to college in Cairo. By 1929, he had completed graduate study, obtaining the highest degree (equivalent to an MA) in religious law. He returned to Nablus and received an appointment as a *Shari'a* law clerk. Subsequent promotions rapidly advanced him to the position of Nablus *Qadi* (Moslem religious judge) by 1936.

Unable to remain silent on the state of affairs in Palestine in the 1930s, Sheikh Sa'eh became a vocal opponent of British and Zionist policies in the country. His activities led to his arrest in 1936 on charges of inciting against the British. During his six-month term in Acre prison he played a leadership role among fellow political prisoners, organising a demand by 450 that British mandate forces be withdrawn from Palestine.

Upon his release from Acre prison, the Sheikh was promptly placed under town arrest in al-Bireh for one year. When the year was up he returned to Nablus and continued working as a *qadi*, until 1945 when he was once again exiled to al-Bireh and placed under town arrest for one year by the British. He moved to Jerusalem in 1946, where he was first appointed secretary of the Islamic Higher Council and then *qadi*. When the 1948 war broke out Sheikh Sa'eh even took up arms and fought briefly.

An ardent Arab nationalist, Sa'eh naturally admired Gamal Abdel Naser and supported the 1952 Egyptian revolution. He kept up-to-date with affairs in the Arab world by frequent travel during the 1960s. During this time he tried hard to encourage links between Islamic institutions in Jerusalem and the rest of the Muslim world. Among other efforts in this direction, he travelled to Asia and Africa in 1965 to collect donations for al-Aqsa's renovation.

Sheikh Sa'eh, as representative of the Jordanian *waqf*, delivers a speech in Egypt prior to 1967 requesting funds for the renovation of al-Aqsa mosque.

Deported by the Israelis

Just prior to the 1967 war, following the withdrawal of UN troops from the Israeli-Egyptian border, Sheikh Sa'eh gave daily sermons encouraging people to be involved in the armed struggle against Israel.

After the 1967 war and the occupation of Jerusalem and the rest of the West Bank, he returned to the legal arena to continue his opposition. In his capacity as head of the Supreme *waqf* council and chairman of the religious appeals court in Jerusalem, he ruled that "If Islamic land has fallen under enemy occupation, Muslims must discuss this situation and elect representatives to pursue these important issues."

Based on his ruling, 42 national and religious figures were elected to the newly founded Supreme Islamic Forum in July, 1967. Jordanian authorities then appointed Sa'eh to head the forum. On July 8, 1967, he issued a statement calling on people to struggle against the occupation.

Confrontation between Sheikh Sa'eh and the Israelis began when occupiers took the key to the Magharbeh gate from the *waqf*. The gate separates the al-Aqsa compound from the historic Jewish quarter in the Old City. Sa'eh declared that the administration of al-Aqsa mosque and the Dome of the Rock were part of *waqf* responsibilities, and all keys must remain in the possession of *waqf* officials. Israeli authorities rejected his demands.

The content of Friday sermons became another issue of dispute. Sa'eh was ordered to submit Friday sermons to the Israeli Ministry of Religion for approval before they could be read in public. Sa'eh refused and sent letters to *waqf* branches throughout the West Bank reiterating that only *waqf* department directors were responsible for supervising Friday sermons.

The then-Israeli minister of religion summoned Sa'eh and other *waqf* officials to his office soon after and ordered them not to apply Islamic law regarding property inheritance. He also informed them that heads of *waqf* departments must pledge an oath of loyalty to the Israeli president. Angered by these demands, Sheikh Sa'eh responded: "We do not recognise you. You are occupiers and our relations will conform to international regulations."

Sheikh Sa'eh also found covert means to oppose Israeli occupation. In August 1967, when the Zionist Congress convened in Jerusalem under a press blackout, Sheikh Sa'eh learned about the convention and decided to act. He delegated someone who spoke Hebrew to attend the event and learn about any resolutions affecting Palestinians. In this way Sa'eh managed to obtain all congress resolutions and documents. These included a resolution passed by the congress to demolish al-Aqsa mosque and to build the Temple Mount in its place.

The day after the congress ended, Sheikh Sa'eh convened a press conference and revealed the resolutions. At midnight the same night, director of Israeli military intelligence at the time, David Farhi, broke into Sa'eh's house and took him to a building in East Jerusalem where many senior military officers were awaiting them.

One officer asked Sa'eh in Arabic, "How did you get information about the congress resolutions?" Sa'eh smiled and asked in turn, "Do you not have informers in the West Bank and the Arab World?" "Yes," the officer replied. Sheikh Sa'eh said, "If you tell me their names and the information they get, I'll tell you how I got information about the congress." He continued, "As you permit yourselves to collect information about us, it is my right to obtain information about you."

The officers then talked to him about the *waqf* and the political situation and let him go home. A week later on September 22, 1967 he was summarily deported to Jordan.

Rocky Relations With Jordan

Upon arrival in Amman, Sa'eh received a hero's welcome. He held several press conferences to discuss the Israeli occupation. After only one week, he was appointed Jordanian Minister of *Waqf* and Religious Affairs. By 1968 he had been made Chief *qadi* and head of the Supreme *Waqf* Council in Jordan. On the eve of 'Black September' in 1970, however, Sa'eh resigned in protest against Jordan's moves against Palestinians.

Sheikh Sa'eh later became a lecturer on Islamic religion at the Jordanian University. In 1976 King Hussein's brother Prince Hassan dismissed him from the university because he supported the PLO. A few months later Sheikh Sa'eh issued a statement with other nationalists denouncing Syrian-supported shelling of the Tel al-Zaater camp in Beirut. He was thereupon arrested and taken to Jafer prison in the Jordanian desert where he was beaten and imprisoned for 33 days.

In 1978, Sa'eh was returned to official circles: a Jordanian-Palestinian National Front was formed and Sa'eh was elected secretary general.

Sa'eh is a Moslem non-factional Palestinian nationalist whose prior concern is to maintain national unity. His youngest son, Bassam Sa'eh, a 40-year-old accountant at Maqassed Hospital, strengthened this impression in an interview with *Al Fajr*. As he described his father, "He is a Palestinian Muslim and an ardent supporter of the PLO. Neither the Islamic groups nor the Jordanian authorities succeeded at coopting him." By the same token, Bassam explained, "the reason he was deported from Israel is that he opposed the occupier's orders and tried to control the *waqf*."

A friend of the new PNC chairman, Mahmoud Hibbiyeh, director of Maqassed Hospital, told *Al Fajr* that Sa'eh has been chosen to do a very difficult and complicated task. But he described him as a "decent and proper man." Hibbiyeh called on PLO officials not to make life difficult for the elderly sheikh. He described Sa'eh as straightforward, righteous, and shrewd.

Controversial

Sheikh Sa'eh will need all these attributes and more in his new post. Sa'eh now faces the difficult task of trying to heal the rift that has emerged in the Palestinian community over the last year. He will have to muster his utmost powers to consolidate Palestinian unity as his election to head the highest Palestinian institution, responsible for formulating political and organisational strategy, is not recognized by all PLO factions. He will have to wrangle opponents from right and left.

However, many Palestinians believe Sheikh Sa'eh will succeed because he has good relations with both left and right wings in the PLO.

Sa'eh's many visits to the Soviet Union and vocal support for Lenin's theories earned him the name "Red Sheikh." The Muslim brothers coined the term in 1970 when Sa'eh spoke during a celebration in Amman sponsored by the Jordanian-Soviet friendship committee to mark the 100th anniversary of Lenin's birth. In his speech, Sa'eh recorded Lenin's achievements and called him an international revolutionary and an ardent enemy of imperialism and its policies. Admirers use the name to stress his progressive inclinations

continued on page 15

Israeli High Schools:

Textbook Indoctrination on the Arab-Israeli Conflict

Israeli children grow up with shockingly little knowledge of Palestine and Palestinians. The school curriculum lacks a required civics course and textbooks are misinformed Zionists tracts which obliterate Palestinian history. Nili Mandler wrote the following three-part series for *HaAretz* about the "civics textbook fiasco."

"Pupils of technical schools who receive vocational training know next to nothing about the history of the Arabs in Israel."

It is worth knowing where Israeli high school pupils turn for information on the controversy over the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The school curriculum includes only one book on the subject — *The Israeli-Arab Conflict* — and many students turn to privately published books in lieu of an official textbook for civics lessons.

One of the bestselling books in the field is Amnon Haber's *Fundamentals of the Recent History of the Nation and State*. The book is designed as a study aid for the matriculation exam in civics and although not included in the curriculum, it is listed in the bibliography of recommended books the director of the Ministry of Education sent to civics teachers in September 1983.

At the beginning of the chapter entitled "Answers to Questions about Our Right to the Country," the author states, "The whole exchange between us and the Arabs over historic rights is ill-founded and on our part stems from our ignorance of the history of the Jewish settlement in the land of Israel." Our ignorance has given way to a host of fallacious ideas, among them the notion that we returned to the country after 2000 years in exile "to find that another nation had been living here for hundreds of years." This, claims Haber, is patently false. "The truth is that we didn't find any nation here upon our arrival and certainly not one that had been living here for hundreds of years," he wrote.

The chapter dealing with our exclusive historic right to the whole country is for the most part made up of quotations culled from official government documents and documents of the Ministry of Education. According to the author, the excerpt above was taken from an interview with the first Israeli minister of education, the late Professor Dinor. The author seems to have selected the pick of the crop, as it were, refraining from the direct expression of his own views. Of course, everything has already been said and written. But why is the book bereft of acknowledged historical facts and why were persons with different viewpoints not quoted?

The author lays great stress on knowing how to answer questions concerning our right to the land of Israel in the chapter so named. The book is concise, less than 200 pages in length. Short and simple answers are given for complex questions. Little wonder that at least five editions have gone into print and more can be expected. Some schools buy the book in bulk; many municipalities and kibbutzim do likewise.

Settler-Historian

The author lives in Yakir, a settlement on the West Bank. Until recently he was a teacher at a technical high school in the centre of the country. At present he is on sabbatical, working on his PhD (in history) and lecturing at the *College of Judea and Samaria* in Kedumim. Our attachment to the land of Israel is explained in the following terms: "We have dug the wells, we are the ones who were able to make the country bloom; but our enemies are only capable of blocking up the wells and laying waste to the country."

Next comes a series of questions and answers. "How would you define the relationship between the nation and its land?" The author provides his readers with the following answer: "The relationship between the nation and its land cannot be defined as the dominion of the nation over the land but rather as the dominion of the land over the nation, given the centrality of the land in the life of the nation. So it is that the land of Israel is a country with a historical past which is exclusively tied up with the Jewish people. For others, the land of Israel was no more than one region among many; we alone have historical roots in this country."

The author restrains himself somewhat at the outset of the chapter and refers to "conquerors," "another nation," etc. But further on he gives free vent to his ideology: "The Arabs have traditionally plundered Jewish property and this tradition has been passed on from generation to generation up to the present day." Every nation has its own set of traditions it would seem. "And it is worth pointing out that not only was the country plundered, its sanctity was plundered as well," he writes. "The Arabs, like the Christians, not only plundered Jewish holy sites but also changed their names and deceitfully turned them into Christian and Islamic holy places."

Far be it for the author to present only one viewpoint. "The Arab claim to sovereignty over the occupied territories does have a certain validity from the perspective of international law," he writes. "However, insofar as this holds in regard to Syrian sovereignty over the Golan Heights and Egyptian sovereignty over the Sinai peninsula, the case is quite different in regard to the Jordanian claim to the West Bank and that of Egypt to the Gaza Strip. The majority of states in the world do not recognise the sovereignty of these two countries over the territories they conquered during the 1948 invasion of the land of Israel."

"The Arabs have traditionally plundered Jewish property and this tradition has been passed on from generation to generation up to the present day."
— Israeli textbook

Nothing Distinctly Palestinian

Having lived on the West Bank, the author does not limit himself to historical sources for information about the Arabs. "The Arabs in the land of Israel," he writes, "never established a government of their own. Likewise they lack a distinct culture, language or nationality." Haber also deals with the inevitable question of "why there are those among us who feel guilty about the suffering we have brought upon the Arabs." His answer is as follows: "As regards guilt feeling among the younger generation, I believe the school curriculum is at fault for not having paid enough attention to the history of the Jews in the Land of Israel... However, guilt feelings also have another source, namely, our Arab 'experts,' whose passion for objectivity lead them to assume the subjectivism of our opponents... and thus treat Arab claims as historical truths." (Haber points out that this excerpt was also taken from the above-mentioned interview with the late Professor Dinor.)

Question: "Do you believe that a Palestinian nation exists?"

Answer: "There is no such thing as the Palestinian nation. But if the Jews lend it their support, it will come to be. Perhaps we are witnessing the emergence of the Palestinian nation today... If this is the case, we must bear in mind that this nation is of contemporary birth and cannot survive without 'injections' of political ideology."

The claim that the Arab refugees were expelled from our country is a lie, according to Haber. The truth is that the Arabs chose to emigrate from a country with a Jewish majority in order to live among their Arab brethren. "And the truth is that not one single Arab state has recognised the Palestinian nation." Haber dismisses stories about the Deir Yassin massacre as baseless fabrications. The truth is that Etzel and Lehi (two pre-state undergrounds) "fought in the battle and about 150 Arabs were killed. Those who barricaded themselves in their homes did not evacuate their womenfolk and children before the battle, and therefore women and children were among the dead." According to Haber's version, the baseless allegations about atrocities and the Deir Yassin massacre sowed havoc among the Arab population, one quarter of whom left Israel at the beginning of the summer of 1948.

Muslim Claims — 'A Ruse'

What about the Dome of the Rock? According to Haber, "The Dome of the Rock was built on the foundations of the Temple which, according to Jewish tradition, are located on the Temple Mount. The story about Mohammed's ascent from the sacred rock to the heavens was constructed for a single purpose: to stake a claim for the sanctity of Jerusalem for the Arabs. Actually, the Arabs never considered Jerusalem to be a holy city and they had to resort to a ruse..."

Arab claims to holy places in Jerusalem "are an attempt to falsify history, distort the truth and deny Israel's historic right to the land of Israel and Jerusalem in particular," he writes.

It is indeed ironic that Haber's book is distributed by Sifri, a firm owned by the *Histadrut* (the Israeli labour federation). Before the start of each school year, Sifri reminds all the educational institutions in the country that the book is in print and on sale. Every year thousands of copies are sold; the manager of the firm, Reuven Deutschman, prefers not to give an exact figure. "We don't censor books," he said. "For us, they're simply merchandise. Either they sell well or they don't."

Unofficial Textbook

A random investigation revealed how an unofficial school textbook (that has not been authorised by the Ministry of Education) can be absorbed into the system. A civics teacher at a religious high school told me that some of his pupils had asked him if it was worthwhile for them to use the book in order to prepare for their matriculation exams. "I said that I wasn't opposed to the idea," said the teacher. "I didn't recommend the book, so as not to restrict them to a specific text. But they wanted to prepare for their exams and I approve of that. There were also books like that in my day, like those of Menashe Durshani." When I asked the teacher if he had read the book before authorising his students to use it, he replied, "Of course I have." He said that he was familiar with the book and had skimmed through it. But after hearing something about its bias, he admitted that he hadn't read it from cover to cover.

Over the past 17 years the Ministry of Education has published only one book about the Arab-Israeli conflict for senior high school pupils. The book, entitled *The Israeli-Arab Conflict*, contains a wealth of information and presents viewpoints from across the political spectrum; however, it is not up-to-date. At present the Ministry of Education (in cooperation with the Van Leer Institute of Jerusalem) is preparing a book to replace it.

However, both the existing book and the projected book are intended for high school students in the academic strain whose civics matriculation exam counts for a full unit. The ministry has done nothing to meet the needs of high school pupils studying in technical schools, who make up two-thirds of the high school population. They simply do not have an accessible civics textbook.

Militants Anthology

Skimming through the privately published civics textbooks on the market for students and teachers in non-academic high schools can be an "illuminating experience." Take for instance a book entitled *Fundamental Approaches to the Traditions and History of the Jewish People*, which deals in part with the Arab-Israeli conflict and was written for religious high school pupils. Even though the Ministry of Education does not list it among its bibliography of recommended books, it is on sale at all bookstores. It was published in a pilot edition in 1978 by the Centre for Teaching Programmes. Approximately 200 pages long, it is made up of articles by persons with extreme nationalist or nationalist-religious views, save for the final 11 pages, which are taken up by two much more moderate articles by Rabbi Solivechik and Pinhas Roseblatt.

The book includes an article written by Rabbi Abraham Elkana Shapira of the Mercaz Ha'Rav *Yeshiva* in Jerusalem which states, among other things, that "the question of returning the occupied territories is a matter that must be decided on the basis of *halacha* (Jewish religious law). According to *halachic* scholars... everything written in the Torah (the Pentateuch) regarding the country and the commandments to Joshua and the Israelites from the first conquest are not directed solely to that single generation but, rather, to all generations to come. The commandment to conquer, consolidate and settle the country cannot be undone..."

Control Equals Land Rights

Rabbi Abraham Elkana Shapira goes on to explain that according to the *halacha*, the Jews are forbidden to allow anyone else to get a foothold in the country. He writes: "An individual who owns a plot of land in Bnei Brak or Haifa can make do with safeguarding his property but according to Ramban, the people of Israel must take possession of all the land in the country... Even if we do not follow the commandment to conquer the entire land of Israel, once we have a given area in our possession, we are forbidden from turning it over to non-Jews. Such an act is a vile transgression. Moreover, it makes little difference if it is done by an individual or the public at large. These precepts apply to Judea and Samaria and to the south of Sinai as well (the book was written before the withdrawal); it applies to all the territory within the borders of the biblical Land of Israel."

Rabbi Shapira goes on to say, "If a true peace were indeed possible, or even a cessation of hostilities, it would override the precept to hold on to the entire land of Israel, including Judea and Samaria." But he points out that "the experts not only say that we must retain the liberated territories but, moreover, that by holding onto them we can prevent bloodshed..."

Rabbi Shapira's article is only one of many presented in the book. In a chapter called "The Source of Redemption," one can read that "we can maintain our right to the country by both conquering it and working the land." In an article on "the inception of the redemptive process," according to Rabbi Kook, one can read, "We will use force to do what we have been commanded to do as soldiers: to take control of the country, to redeem it, to work it, to build it up and to achieve supremacy by force of our culture and our deeds."

The other civics books for non-academic students on the market (which fills the vacuum caused by the dearth of official textbooks) are basically those of Ettinger, Peli and Haber. The chief Ministry of Educationsupervisor of social science and civic instruction, Dr Dan Giladi, was put out by the mere mention of Ettinger and Peli. "Since I took on this position eight years ago, I've forbidden teachers to use Ettinger's book. It's a bad book. Peli? As far as I'm concerned, the book doesn't exist," he said.

The background to the civics textbook fiasco stems from the fact that only one-third of the high school pupils in the educational system — the pupils in the academic strain — are required to take a civics exam; it counts as one unit and they receive three hours of instruction a week which, all totalled, makes for 40 hours of civics classes a year.

Civics Not Stressed

According to Dr Giladi, technical school pupils — who make up two-thirds of the Israeli high school population — do not have to take a matriculation exam in civics. Their civics lessons are incorporated in their history lessons and they are examined on civics in the history matriculation exam. But even academic high school pupils who must sit for a matriculation exam in civics do not necessarily study the history of the Arab-Israeli conflict. The curriculum allows them to choose from a number of topics. Dr Giladi estimates that only every second academic high school pupil opts to study the history of the Arab-Israeli conflict for their matriculation.

Many teachers have taken the initiative into their own hands in order to improve the level of civics instruction.

Palestinian teacher inside the "green line": *"Some of the maps only show Israel's northern and southern borders."*

But more often than not, they have come up against a brick wall. A teacher in a state religious school in the centre of the country decided to give his technical school pupils (notorious for their low academic level) a one-hour civics lesson every week. He told me that even if the students had a decent textbook, they would be unable to use it properly. "They can't understand what they read. I tried to teach them something about some of the terms that are widely used in the country. I asked them to write down their definition of democracy. Some of the answers were: 'Democracy means freedom to do whatever you please.' Or, 'Democracy means that everybody has rights and obligations.' But no one defined democracy as the rule of the people," he said.

"The truth is that the Arabs chose to emigrate from a country with a Jewish majority in order to live among their Arab brethren."
— Israeli textbook

The pupils of technical schools who receive vocational training know next to nothing about the history of the Arabs in Israel or the history of the Arab-Israeli conflict. But they have strong views about everything that happens in the country. "They say we treat the Arabs too kindly. They say we're too sympathetic and thus invite them to demonstrate against us," the teacher told me. "They're in favour of firmness."

Civics textbooks and the civics curriculum as a whole do not have an exclusive prerogative on bias and bewilderment. Textbooks in other disciplines are similarly marred, including those for younger pupils.

Maps of Israel in geography textbooks routinely present the following breakdown of land ownership: land owned by Jews, land owned by the government (eg the British Mandate government) and land owned by other parties. Each category is marked on the map with a given colour. When reading the map, pupils are no doubt struck by the fact that on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip most of the land does not belong to Jews. Looking at the map legend they may learn that the lands in question are "owned by other parties," but exactly who these "other parties" are remains a mystery.

There is not a single hint that certain plots of land on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip are owned by Arabs. And this is common practice in all textbooks and workbooks published by the Ministry of Education; for example: *The Jewish National Movement and the Establishment of the State of Israel — Unit 3* (1978); *Not on a Silver Platter* (1983); *From the Holocaust to Rebirth, 1945 — 1948*; and *The Israeli-Arab Conflict* (Ma'alot 1979).

Wall maps are not free of this muddle or deliberate distortion either. Some of the maps only show Israel's northern and southern borders; the Jordan River is made to serve as Israel's eastern border. And these maps are hung up in classrooms in order to familiarise pupils with their native land!

Professor Moshe Brauer's map of Israel, published by Yavneh (fifth edition), indicates ceasefire lines and political borders but the "green line" (Israel's pre-1967 eastern border) does not appear. Ben Zion Luria and David Benvenisti's map of Israel, published by Hosa'at Sefer, Jerusalem Ltd, designates the occupied territories as such but the broken red line which marks Israel's pre-1967 border is practically swallowed up by highway markings, making it difficult to know which is which. Where do the occupied territories begin and where does Israel proper end?

It need not be this way. In the 1984 edition of Luria and Benvenisti's map (published by the same firm) the boundaries of the occupied territories are clearly marked.

Israel's fluctuating borders or absence of borders are not to be found only on classroom maps. Geography textbooks and study books on Israel routinely ignore the controversy over the occupied territories. The one exception to this rule is Eliezer Patkin's *Jerusalem, Judea and Samaria*, a recently published work which is head and shoulders above other books in the field. Complete with a set of maps and a teaching guide, it is part of a comprehensive series on Israel by the same author. It is intended for junior high school pupils and was published just this year by Sarkover Publications Ltd in response to a request by the curriculum department of the Ministry of Education.

Patkin is conscientious regarding the problems surrounding the occupied territories. Although the map appendaged to the book does not indicate where

continued on page 15

The Drama of the Israeli Political Deadlock

Israel is "in check" but in a comfortable *status quo*, writes Yoel Marcus for *HaAretz*. Its relations with Egypt and the US and its position in Lebanon and in the occupied territories show no hint of improvement or erosion.

It's a common enough feeling. Returning to Israel after a short absence, one feels as though he has left the North Pole for the Sahara Desert. But rather than having to undergo the agony of the equatorial sun, Israelis returning from abroad are bombarded with "the latest up-to-date news."

"Never a dull moment," they say (in English — feeling obliged to sprinkle their conversation with foreign phrases). And what with dramatic headlines and the grave faces of Israeli politicians staring out at you from the front page, it's hard not to feel that in your absence the country was rocked by sensational events of which you are totally ignorant. But don't make the mistake of glancing through the newspapers you missed — there's nothing as stale as yesterday's headlines. Some of them are outdated even before the ink dries. Indeed, there are periods when the country is pre-occupied by a story that is seen in retrospect as totally marginal.

When it comes down to it, not much is happening in Israel at the moment. At least that's what I discovered when I returned home after a sojourn abroad. All and all, the country is bereft of "news." But the mass media are just bursting with all sorts of stories, insubstantial as they be. The show, it seems, must go on!

I don't recall ever having experienced anything like this before. The burning issues of the day can no longer provide us with sensational news. The most sensational piece of news I could find was that the important issues of the day have been left to simmer on a low flame; stagnation has set in. Could this be the shape of things to come?

Let's start with Lebanon. The defence minister's political manoeuvre never really got off the ground. Neither the Americans nor the Syrians seem to be willing to assume the roles they were assigned. Sooner or later the government will have no choice but to make a unilateral move. But whoever thinks that this will mean withdrawing to the international border is sadly mistaken. Peres may want to do so but his Likud partners are definitely not prepared to take so drastic a step. (And perhaps the Labour Alignment is not willing to take the risk of opening Israel's northern frontier to katyusha missiles.) A unilateral move would mean redeployment in a relatively sparsely populated area, far from Shi'ite concentrations. The army would also decrease the number of troops stationed in the area by about two thirds.

And then — there they'll stay. South Lebanon will become "the North Bank" for a long stretch of time, if not forever.

On the West Bank we have almost reached the point of no return. In spite of the frantic *yakkety yak* that never seems to cease on the other side of the border, we still don't have partners for negotiations. And even if we could find partners for dialogue, no Arab could agree to anything less than the establishment of a Palestinian state in the occupied territories. Right now, the idea of territorial compromise amounts to nothing more than wishful thinking; given the political deadlock in Israel, the whole idea seems to have gone flat. It's hard to admit it and even harder to write it with any certainty, but there are grounds for making the supposition that there are no political forces capable of tipping the balance in favour of relinquishing control over the West Bank. Nor are any such forces in the offing. Thus, it does not seem hasty to conclude that we will be there for a long time to come, if not forever.

"WE HAVE REACHED A POINT OF POLITICAL DEADLOCK."

As regards the peace treaty with Egypt — perhaps Peres and Mubarak will finally have a meeting. But our problems with Egypt have little to do with the dispute over Taba in spite of the fact that the media have been creating that impression. The inane dispute over Taba has obscured the main issue, which is whether or not Egypt wants to return to the Arab fold. Such a move would mean recognizing the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people, a move that would surely alienate Israel and spell an end to any chance for friendly relations. In retrospect Sadat was right when he said that national reconciliation between two peoples was simply impossible and impractical. Were it not for American and Israeli pressure, Sadat probably wouldn't have signed the peace treaty; it was full of clauses he hadn't dreamed of accepting. Our relations with Egypt will continue to take the form they have assumed at present for a long time to come, if not forever.

Shultz and Shamir receiving honourary degrees at Yeshiva University in New York this week: *"Any curtailment of (US) funds (to Israel) would bring on a backlash from American Jewish powerbrokers."*

Our relations with the United States have settled down into an established routine. Mr. Rabin told an Israeli television audience that American aid for the development of the Lavie aircraft would continue for the next 10 years. Now Rabin must know that no one in the United States is authorized to make a promise of this sort. But the truth is that American economic aid to Israel has reached a stage where any curtailment of funds would bring on a backlash from American Jewish powerbrokers. American-Israeli relations may have their ups and downs, but they seem capable of withstanding pressure and surviving for a long time to come. Given the amount of aid Israel receives from the US, it's hardly surprising that the economic crisis in the country — which currently supplies the papers with banner headlines — is quite static; there's no good news and there's no bad news.

When the state was established, economic independence was practically a byword, but today it's no longer spoken of. The government is battling with itself; most of its attention has been focused on making cosmetic changes and taking preventive steps rather than trying to put the economy back on its feet. And there's ample reason to believe that this situation will continue.

We have reached a point of political deadlock. The government's major concern is simply to remain in power. So it is that the most dramatic development is that there are no new developments on the horizon. Fateful decisions have been postponed. We have reached a standstill and it seems all too likely that the *status quo* will continue. As far as new intitiatives go — they don't. Perhaps the only real development one can discern is the fact that the country has taken one giant step to the right. We have become more nationalistic, more intolerant, more religious and more fanatic. But of course, that's hardly the stuff of newspaper headlines. It doesn't even rate a spot on the back page. But all things considered, that's the root of it all. (Translation: HaAretz, December 5, 1984)

Above: Efrat settlement, on the Bethlehem road/JS photo. Right: Israeli outpost in south Lebanon: *"No political forces capable of tipping the balance in favour of relinquishing control."*

Palestine and Culture

Masrah al-Resala: A Tentative Step on the Road to Success

by Said al-Ghazali

More than 400 people attended *Masrah al-Resala's* second performance of its new play, *The Earth Continues Turning Around*. The performance, given at Jerusalem's *El-Hakawati* Theatre November 30, was a somewhat flawed attempt at combining two separate story themes into one.

The group adopted a technique from the famous European playwright Brecht known as *the play within the play*. The audience is supposed to participate by witnessing not only a play, but also the acting out of its rehearsal. Part of the revolutionary theatre movement, this technique is designed to show two plays — the story told by the script and the encompassing story of the actors and director interpreting and putting together the script. According to the technique, however, a coherent relationship should be maintained between the story theme and what happens in the play's "rehearsal" which the audience has been allowed to observe.

The Earth Continues Turning Around is not a good example of Brecht's Theatre. There seems to be no connection between the ideas presented in the first play — the "rehearsal" — and the second play — the "story." The story theme is a call to all those who have strayed from the revolution to return and join their compatriots in their collective confrontation against the injustice of occupation. The play begins, however, with the "rehearsal." The actors attempt to present their own version of the play by using false techniques. According to the director, this is meant to depict the current weakness in Palestinian theatre. The lengthy introduction, rhetorical speeches about theatre and the script, poetry, folkloric singing and music show the audience the confused, uprofessional state of many local dramatic presentations.

The cast acts out the scene with the director interrupting to say that this is false technique, not good theatre, but then he, himself, makes technical mistakes. He taunts the players for having no imagination and says he cannot teach them. Yet he, too, exhibits neither a teaching style nor theatrical knowledge. He only insults and shouts at his cast.

While the audience is considering this theme of poor theatre, they are suddenly thrust with no apparent connection into the story, the script. The audience is introduced to a typical Arab village whose people suffer from harassment by collaborators and enemy agents, obviously representing the occupation authorities. The story continues while some actors refer again to the play's rehearsal by commenting on some scenes as "what the director wants."

In the story, Mahmoud Kana'an plays the part of an "interrogator." He recruits Hussein — son of Ibrahim al-Awad, a revolutionary who spent 20 years in jail on political charges — to work with him against his people. The "interrogator" provides Hussein with a gun and he becomes an assailant attacking his compatriots and relatives.

In another scene the character Tha'er, meaning revolutionary, is introduced conversing with his girlfriend, "Amira." A sub-plot emerges which depicts the conflict between political and social progressives like Tha'er, representing the new generation, and the politically and socially traditional like Amira's father, representing the old generation. Tha'er's relationship with Amira is not accepted by her family and society. Unable to resist her father's plans, Amira is forced to marry her cousin, the assailant Hussein.

Hussein succeeds in imprisoning Tha'er, who has refused to cooperate with the "interrogator." Tha'er is interrogated, tortured, and imprisoned for two years on a false charge of drug possession.

Then, in an ironic twist, the "interrogator" summons Hussein and informs him that his land has been confiscated. He orders Hussein to demolish his house. This shocks Hussein, who realizes his grave error in working with the "interrogator" against his own people. He refuses to leave his land and demolish his house.

The village reaction is divided over this surprising turn of events. Some perceive Hussein as a victim and show their readiness to support him. Others think the house demolition is a trick. Still others believe Hussein is getting just punishment for his earlier crimes.

Hussein speaks to the people about his past crimes, including framing Tha'er, and shows real regret. Tha'er forgives Hussein and all the village unites to confront the "interrogator." When the "interrogator" and his soldiers arrive to demolish Hussein's house, the people confront them, the soldiers open fire and Hussein falls dead. His body is then buried.

In the closing scene, the "interrogator" comes on stage while the other actors are behind the curtains. He threatens to punish, to kill, to imprison, to expel them all. However, they confront him: they run on stage and surround him. The "interrogator" attempts to escape but encounters the ghost of Hussein. Unable to escape, he falls on the ground in the play's final scene.

Although the director's intention is to present a "play within a play," the performance falls short of that goal when the play ends abruptly with the story. It does not return to the "rehearsal." The performance lacks symmetry because it starts with the "rehearsal" but continues with the story. The ending itself is the end to the story only. If the performance was true to Brecht's technique there would be a balance between the play as "rehearsal" and the play as story with an open end. For instance, it would be possible to present another scene in which the director announced

continued on page 13

Bassam Bishara + Arabic Music = Winning Combination

by Lesley Abukhater

In his second appearance this winter at *El-Hakawati* Theatre in East Jerusalem, Bassam Bishara had the audience securely in his grip from the first moment he picked up his fat-bellied *oud* (lute) and began to sing his own musical renditions of Mahmoud Darwish's poetry. He gave the December 1 audience what they had come to see — an evening of purely nationalist music. Accompanied by two guitarists and a trumpeter from the Armenian band *al-Manar*, a violinist, and two drummers, Bishara was clearly more at home with his selection of Marcel Khalifeh songs than with the Western dance music *al-Manar* more often plays.

Unlike his November concert with the full Armenian band in which electric organ and synthesizer were too heavily used and a confused combination of American pop songs and Palestinian poetry was presented, this December performance was free of Western electronic influence. The concert, billed as an evening of Oriental music with Bassam Bishara, was totally Palestinian from the tent backdrop to the experiences of which he sang. It was this truly Palestinian character that appealed to his audience who often applauded for several minutes during and after each selection, asking him to sing it one more time.

Clearly still in an experimental stage, Bishara's performance was not perfect. His use of six female backup singers, all members of the recently formed YMCA choir, provided good harmony for his vocals. The singers, though their lyrics and voices were clear, appeared rather young for the task of accompanying Bishara. They stood there timidly throughout the performance clutching their music instead of relaxing, perhaps swaying to the melody and generally becoming more involved in the performance. Rather than respond to the audience's outbursts of clapping and even dancing, as Bishara did by adjusting the volume and indeed singing it one more time, the girls often giggled and seemed embarrassed. It was clear they needed more stage presence.

Bishara's use of instruments — some Western, others Oriental — added to the general impression that much of what he was doing was new and experimental. Two electric guitars provided useful background music when they played bass, but intruded at times when they appeared a bit lost, not clearly following Bishara's lead. The Arabic violin, played by Omar Kan'aneh, was generally very good. Sometimes Kan'aneh's enthusiastic improvisation was out of sinc with the group and gave the impression that he was more into hearing himself play than accompanying Bishara. On some pieces, it would have been better to provide him with a score for the melody line than to let him roam so freely that he seemed lost.

The most intriguing part of the musical programme was the mixed use of muted trumpet, clarinet and what appeared to be an Indian *sitar*. One must give the musician credit for his versatility (in the November performance with *al-Manar* he also played a saxophone and sang an Armenian nationalist hymn) and for his excellent musicianship. However, the use of the trumpet and occasionally the clarinet detracted from the Palestinian flavour of the music. Although never too loud or oppressive, the trumpet gave at least this listener the vague impression of singing Arabic songs somewhere in Mexico.

With at least one-third of the compositions Bishara's and their overwhelming success as far as the audience's response can be gauged, it is clear that Bassam Bishara is well on his way to a prominent spot in today's nationalist music scene. Not only does he play the *oud* expertly and have a clear melodic voice but Bishara also has the ability to accelerate into the moving rhythm of Palestinian poetry in a way to which the audience clearly responds. He leads the audience to a point of nationalistic fervor in a way the poets whose lyrics he sings would certainly approve. Bassam Bishara and his Arabic *oud* are worth hearing again and again.

Bassam Bishara on the *oud*.

WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS

The shuttle diplomacy of PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat, the drama of the hijacking of the Kuwaiti plane and the continued presence of Levinger outside Dheisheh refugee camp were the main stories in the local press this week.

Palestinian newspapers focused on Arafat's post-PNC tour of the Arab world, as observers were making predictions about the various possibilities of negotiated settlements.

The drama of the Kuwaiti plane at Tehran airport coupled with the various attacks and counter attacks by the Kuwaiti and Iranian governments was covered on the front pages of the local press.

The continued provocations of Rabbi Levinger and the recent visit to Dheisheh camp by the Israeli chief of staff also received prominent coverage.

Arafat's Tour

Yasir Arafat's current tour of some Arab countries is of the greatest importance. At the beginning of this difficult stage the Palestinian leadership has two basic tasks: First, to enhance Palestinian national unity and second, to unite Arab ranks and revive the Arab role.

Yesterday the US administration, as usual, denied the right of our people to a just solution through an international peace conference attended by all parties concerned. The US State Department spokesman announced his country's adherence to the Reagan plan and the Camp David accords.

Before that, both Peres and Shamir refused the idea of negotiating with the PLO. Peres even repeated the call to the inhabitants for autonomy. He asked them to seize the golden opportunity.

AL SHA'AB
December 6

Europe's Inconsistency

The United States sees no need for an international peace conference on the Middle East because it thinks the conference is unrealistic and will produce no results. The US sees direct negotiation within the Camp David framework as the best solution. This is the same way Shamir and Peres talk. The European opinion is just as bad.

The European countries' foreign ministers issued a statement calling for recognition of the PLO as the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Yet Europe itself does not implement this call. Europe is even unwilling to receive PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat in their countries. Britain, for instance, would not receive him for security reasons. France wouldn't allow an international conference to be convened in Paris. So the European inconstancy is doing a lot of damage and harm. However some European countries, like Greece, are to be commended for what they offer.

European and American interests in our area are immense. Had it not been totally aligned to Israel, Europe wouldn't have sufficed itself with saying "nice words" only.

It is certain that Western Europe in general cannot take any position without the US. It is also certain that the Arab problem is not with America or Europe. It lies with the Arabs themselves, first and foremost. The Arabs seeking peace should make peace among their countries first. Then they can go to America with a well-defined position. Otherwise the Arabs will be turning in a vicious circle.

AL FAJR
December 7

Deadlock... Murphy

Whenever the United States feels its role in the area faces a deadlock, it sends an envoy to straighten things out and prove it is still here. Following the latest developments in the area, Richard Murphy arrived to begin a new shuttle.

We think Murphy's visit is the result of the deadlock in Naqoura negotiations between Israel and Lebanon. The Lebanese national movement realized the talks are aimed at strengthening the oppressive grip of the Lebanese government backed by the Phalangists and approved by Damascus. The Phalangists are trying to tighten their control over areas dominated by the nationalists by deploying the Lebanese army along the coastal road under the pretext of filling the vacuum created by an Israeli withdrawal from this area.

It should be recalled that Murphy's last trip resulted in the eight point agreement with Assad who promised, among other things, that Palestinian fighters would not return to south Lebanon and that the security of Israel's northern borders would be guaranteed.

Murphy will undoubtedly try to achieve the second aim of his trip; that is, to rekindle the situation in Lebanon and to complete the scheme planned by Kissinger in 1974.

The gravity of the conspiracy requires a serious Arab move to take the initiative. And this is what the PLO is trying to do in the next stage.

AL SHA'AB
December 8

Human Rights Inviolate

On December 10, 1948 the UN passed the Declaration of Human Rights. The UN document stressed the right to freedom of expression through elections, to equality and to the freedom of faith. It also protested against torture, cruelty and other acts which degrade humanity.

But it seems that the spirit of human rights was confined to the UN files. Many third world governments are violating the human rights principles.

The Palestinian people has not had the chance to be independent and to practice its right to self-determination and an independent state and to elect its own representatives, yet it is still seeking its rights to a secure future.

UN reports indicate that in the Arab world, the Arab individual does not enjoy human rights. Some say the Arab individual still has a long way to go before he deserves to be treated as a human being. It is the responsibility of the government with its various departments to raise his standard and ease his burden.

AL QUDS
December 10

Government of 'Political Neutrality'

Uzi Bar'am, the secretary general of the Israeli Labour Party, was perhaps the most prominent Israeli to describe the position of the current Israeli government. He said it is a "political neutrality" government. It was not formed to solve political issues but to handle the economic situation.

Bar'am added that a real Arab initiative can change this situation. What kind of initiative does Bar'am imagine?

Following his visit to France, Shimon Peres stressed three Israeli goals: strengthening peace with Egypt, negotiations with Syria and dialogue with Jordan.

These three goals reveal the kind of initiative Israel expects from the Arabs. It is the abandonment of the PLO and the Palestinian cause and the handling of the conflict as being an Arab-Israeli one.

Thus the Israeli perspective runs short, even from the Labour point of view, of the minimum perception of the Palestinian-Arab one.

Yet, Yitzhak Shamir and Sharon agreed to fight the new tendencies among certain Israeli political circles, especially the Labour Party.

This "struggle" contradicts the statement of Uzi Bar'am, who sees the government as a neutral one with regards to the political solution.

What then is the battle being waged by the Israeli government? It is the effort to abort Arab solidarity, whether intra-Palestinian or Palestinian-Arab solidarity.

AL FAJR
December 11

Cohesion of Our Institutions

The Palestinian movement is being conducted on more than one level: Palestinian, Arab and international. The PLO has clearly defined its course. When the movement's plan was drawn, the executive committee took into consideration the protection of the most important achievement of our people: namely, the legitimate institutions. Therefore it decided to restore cohesion by all means. Just as we do not interfere in the affairs of othe, , we do not want others to interfere in our own affairs.

AL SHA'AB
December 11

The Ball is in the American Court

The Arab and Palestinian arenas witnessed successive and important events. The legitimate leadership succeeded in convening the 17th PNC session. King Hussein put forward his plan for joint Jordanian-Palestinian movement.

Following the PNC meeting, King Hussein visited Egypt. Both of these actions are within the framework of the principle of "Territory for Peace."

When the Palestinian-Jordanian-Egyptian rapprochement is put in the international context it indicates preparing solid ground for international parites capable of renewing their moves to solve the Palestinian cause.

This rapprochement put the United States and Israel in a difficult position. They have to offer a practical reply to it.

The US has not changed its pro-Israeli attitude so far. The US and Israeli positions will constitute an obstacle to peace. The ball is in the American-Israeli court now.

AL QUDS
December 11

Neturei Karta

Discourages Jewish Immigration

Representatives of the Orthodox Neturei Karta movement in Jerusalem and the United States are currently using their contacts in the PLO and in the Arab countries to prevent more Jews from coming to Israel, said a spokesperson for the group November 20. Israeli papers also reported November 20 that the anti-Zionist movement also asked the Arab countries not to allow Jews, including journalists, to enter Arab countries to prevent them from convincing Jews to immigrate to Israel.

This statement came after a series of newspaper articles about the conditions of Jews living in Northern Yemen appeared in the Israeli press and following statements of an Israeli official regarding the immigration of Yemenite Jews.

Israeli journalist Amnon Kapeliuk wrote of his observations of Yemenite Jews in a series of articles published in *Yediot Aharanot* during the week of November 12-16, shortly after his retrun from a visit to Yemen.

Israeli Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir used the occasion to state that he will not rest "until every last Jew living in Yemen is brought to Israel."

Kapeliuk's story revealed that through the auspices of the PLO, members of the Orthodox Neturei Karta movement in New York are providing the Yeminite Jews with religious materials. Rabbi Moshe Hirsch, the spokesperson of Neturie Karta in Jerusalem, told *Al Fajr* that the service performed by the PLO for Orthodox Jews in Northern Yemen belies the portrayals of the PLO by " Zionists and their media." The anti-Zionist Orthodox leader said the Israeli press has been claiming that Yemenite Jews are endangered since the arrival of the PLO fighters after the evacuation from Beirut in 1982. But, he added, "Everyone knows that the PLO has no enmity against Jews but strongly opposes Zionists who exiled them from their land."

Press reports said that some 1400 Jews live in Yemen but, according to Hirsch, more than twice that number are scattered throughout Yemen. Some 50,000 Jews were brought to Israel and were forced to disregard their religious heritage, according to Hirsch. He said that Jews living in Yemen are living good lives and are practising proper Judaism.

Distributor: Rafiq Ghazal
Bita Stores, Jerusalem
at Damascus Gate Bus Station.
Tel: (02) 282978

Muffed Press Relations

continued from page 6

teers in Amman if it asked for assistance. The PLO could have set up booths outside the conference hall with clear signs directing reporters on the procedures for press accreditation. This would have solved the problem of the large number of reporters present.

Palestinian press officials should have been appointed to take care of reporters and keep them informed of all developments and schedules. This is very important in order to avoid reporters relying on uninformed source that may not be as tactful as professional information personnel and would give them conflicting reports.

Arafat's speech, and others like Farouq Qaddoumi's political report and Salah Khalaf's unprepared speech, should either have been ready in an English translation or in several foreign languages and distributed to the reporters soon after their delivery.

A special place should have been designated large enough to accommodate all of the reporters. The reporters would have been satisfied to stand and observe the PNC sessions. They did not ask for comfortable accommodations.

Foreign correspondents usually write according to their moods and if they are not treated well their reports may not be good either. This is the sad truth of life since everyone knows there is no real objectivity. Hopefully the PLO will do better in working with reporters in the future.

Masrah al-Resala

continued from page 11

that he is planning to write a new script and to choose new actors. Then the audience could begin to think of starting a new play.

The technique is also flawed because there no connection is made between the idea of a crisis in Palestinian theatre and the story theme of collaborators returning to the revolutionary fold. This creates only confusion for the audience. In some of the "story" scenes — such as the final confrontation between the "interrogator" and the villagers — rhetorical speeches are used, a method criticised in the play's initial references to the problems in Palestinian theatre.

The actors were also unable to set the stage quickly or to change costume. The sound was sometimes inaudible, as in the flirtation scene between Tha'er and Amira; at other times the sound was loud and garbled.

The actors are still amateurs and some of them imitate other famous Arab actors. For instance, Khair Masri appeared to be imitating Musa Hijazi, a famous Jordanian actor, in movement and certain sounds. The director, Ahmad Heseyan, appeared to be imitating Egyptian actor Mohammed Subhi in his sharp movement and rapid speech.

Despite these serious shortcomings, the *Masrah al-Resala* theatre troupe succeeded in one very important aspect. It did manage to present a message to the audience in the story, a message of the importance of cooperation in our struggle against occupation. With messages such as this, the year-old troupe from Majd al-Kroum near Acre cannot help but succeed in the future.

Meron Benvenisti

continued from page 5

All this points to the fact that the government of Israel has a fixed policy for the West Bank — that the economy of the West Bank must be dependent on the Israeli economy. This is a longstanding policy. Is the present government prepared to change this policy? I don't see that happening. They'll approve a waterworks project here or the construction of a sewage system there, but they won't allow the West Bank to become economically independent.

Q: What about the group that was formed in the US?

A: Right. They'll encourage them, but if you were to ask me what I think the end result will be, I'd have to answer — nothing. You see, it's a structural problem. Industrial production on the West Bank would take away revenues from Israeli factories. We export 800 million dollars worth of industrial products to the West Bank. There are Israeli factories that depend on this market. As trading conditions become tougher and the dollar goes up, it will become increasingly difficult to export goods abroad. Such a situation will make the West Bank into an even more lucrative market. Who would agree to give it up? They aren't even prepared to let them establish a cement factory there.

By the way, we aren't the only ones at fault here. Jordan must take some of the blame. There are stiff restrictions on exports from the occupied territories to Jordan in order to protect Jordanian agriculture. The Palestinians have been caught between the hammer and the anvil. They've always gotten the shitty end of the stick. That's why any announcement about instituting real changes sound so dubious. Such a move would not only be politically complicated, it would also harm the interests of those Israeli factories that have grown accustomed to exporting goods to the West Bank.

Q: If you were given the opportunity to set up a programme to improve the quality of life on the West Bank, what would you do?

A: I would initiate a series of projects whose objective would be to allow the local population to exploit the development potential of the West Bank. At present, the Israelis have appropriated two natural resources from them — land and water. There isn't a great deal of Arab agriculture. Only five percent of West Bank agricultural land is irrigated. Most of the water goes to Jewish settlements. There's about a quarter of a million dunums that could be irrigated but which aren't irrigated at present, because the Israelis claim that "we have enough agriculture already" and that the Arabs will continue to dry farm in the future.

At present, the West Bank supplies the sesame seeds and Israel churns out the tahina; they provide the raw materials but have not developed industries of their own. If this situation continues, nothing will have been achieved. If their sole role is to supply manpower for Jewish enterprises, their economy will always be dependent on Israel.

Today, an Arab cannot reasonably aspire to be a manager or a chairman of the board. The position of foreman or shift supervisor is about as high as he can climb in an Israeli concern. If the Arabs had the means of advancing themselves and if an Arab worker could set his sights on a managerial position without seeming absurd, he would feel that he had some control over his life. Now, that's exactly what the Israeli authorities want to prevent. However, that's the basis of the system I would try to establish.

Q: And what do you think would be the political outcome of your proposals?

A: We would see the establishment of a political structure that will arise whether these proposals are implemented or not. The Arabs aren't sitting on their hands. They've invested a lot of resources in education. There are at present five universities on the West Bnak and a total of six in the occupied territories as a whole. That shows the extent to which they've invested all they have in the education of the younger generation. One day, their children will grow up and they won't be prepared to work as unskilled labourers in Israel. And then the same thing that happened to the Israeli Arabs will happen to them. In spite of all the problems and restrictions, an independent economic system will sprout up on the West Bank. It's inevitable.

The question is whether you want it to come about by force, in which case it will appear as a threat and you'll be driven to oppose it, or, whether you will lend it your support, recognizing that this is the path to coexistence. In such a case, you could channel it into certain areas from the start.

Right now the problem for me is whether they will recognize the fact that the Palestinians in the occupied territories are a viable community which can't be dismantled. Attempts to fragment the population will not succeed — witness what happened to the Israeli Arabs. (Translation: Al Hamishmar, December 5, 1984)

WEEKLY REVIEW

Cabinet minister Yosef Shapira and MK Michal Etan (Herut) encourage settler fanatic Rabbi Levinger at Dheisheh refugee camp in his attempt to provoke camp residents and cause them to leave.

December 5, 1984

PALESTINIAN FLAG FLOWN IN SAKHNIN

SAKHNIN — The Israeli daily *Ha Aretz* reported that a Palestinian flag was raised on a telephone pole in the Galilee village of Sakhnin. The police chief in the area summoned the head of Sakhnin's local council and asked him to take down the flag.

AUTHORITIES RENEW TOWN ARREST ON JARADAT

SA'IR — Israeli authorities have renewed a town-arrest order on Mousa Jaradat for six months. Jaradat, a correspondent for *Al Fajr* Arabic newspaper, is from the village of Sa'ir in the Hebron district. This is the third successive town arrest for Jaradat. He must report to the police in Hebron once a week.

TRIAL POSTPONED FOR 4 YOUTHS WHO ATTEMPTED TO KILL SOLDIER

HIZMAH — The trial of four youths from the village of Hizmah, north of Jerusalem, has been postponed until January 16.

The youths, who are to be tried before a military court, are charged with attempting to kill one Israeli soldier and steal a rifle from another.

HEBRONITES BANNED FROM TRAVELLING TO AMMAN

Israeli authorities at Allenby bridge turned back all travellers to Amman from the Hebron district. Males and females under 40 were all turned back. No reasons were given.

TWO PHARMACEUTICAL PLANTS APPROVED IN GAZA

GAZA — The Israeli officer in charge of medical affairs has approved the opening of two pharmaceutical plants in Gaza.

NAZARETH YOUTH RELEASED ON BAIL

NAZARETH — Suleiman Mohammed Saleh of Nazareth was ordered released from detention on IS500,000 bail by the magistrate's court in Nazareth. He was detained last week on charges of contacting the PLO during a pilgrimage to Mecca.

December 6, 1984

BETHLEHEM RESIDENT JAILED FOR MEMBERSHIP

RAMALLAH — The Ramallah military court sentenced Issam Shakhtour of Bethlehem to three years in prison and three months suspended on charges of membership in an 'illegal organisation.' He was detained on June 17.

ISRAELI BUS STONED

HALHOUL — An Israeli bus was stoned near the village of Halhoul as it was driving on the main Jerusalem-Hebron road, Israel Radio reported.

December 7, 1984

PETROL BOMB THROWN IN BETHLEHEM

BETHLEHEM — A petrol bomb was thrown at a restaurant in Bethlehem. No injuries were reported but fire ignited by the bomb caused heavy damage to the restaurant.

STUDENT PLACED UNDER TOWN ARREST

HEBRON — Israeli authorities summoned student Jamal al-Jaradat, head of the student council at Hebron University, and informed him that he would be placed under town arrest for six months in his village Silit al-Dhaher near Jenin.

GAZA UNIVERSITY SALARIES LATE

GAZA — Workers and employees of the Islamic University in Gaza have not received their salaries for the last three months because of the severe financial crisis the university currently faces.

RAMALLAH CAR TORCHED

RAMALLAH — Unidentified persons set fire to a car owned by Ali Shehadeh Abu Sharikh in Ramallah His Peugeot was totally destroyed. Police are investigating.

The incident has been widely condemned.

December 9, 1984

YOUTH GETS 4 YEARS FOR BURNING FIELD

HAIFA — The Israeli district court in Haifa sentenced Mahmoud Abu Faneh 19, from the village of al-Qar'e, to four years in prison after convicting him of setting fire to wheat fields belonging to the Israeli kibbutz Harish.

YOUTHS FINED, JAILED

NABLUS — The military court in Nablus sentenced Salim Karkar and Majdi Kahoush, both from Ramallah, to one month in prison and a IS20,000 fine on charges of demonstrating and pelting an Israeli bus with stones.

MASHHAD YOUTH JAILED

LYDDA — Israeli military court in Lydda sentenced Husam Tayyem, from Mashhad village in the Nazareth district, to nine months in jail and 21 months suspended on charges of membership in a Palestinian organisation. Tayyem was arrested last August.

NABLUS YOUTHS SENTENCED

NABLUS — Israeli military court sentenced four youths on charges of demonstrating. They are: Samir Hilal Zreiq, one-and-a-half months in prison; Suleiman Subhi Steitiyeh, one-and-a-half months in prison and a IS25,000 fine; Nizar Isam al-Bakri, one-and-a-half months in prison and a IS25,000 fine; and Ammar Abd-al-Razzaq Abu Ghdaib, one month in prison.

PENS CONFISCATED

NAZARETH — Israeli authorities recently questioned an insurance agent in Nazareth regarding pens in the colours of the Palestinian flag. The authorities searched his office, confiscated the pens and took the agent to the police station.

JATT YOUTH RELEASED

TRIANGLE — Israeli authorities released Abd al-Salam Samarah from the village of Jatt in the Triangle after a three-month detention.

Samarah was arrested on charges of confronting Israeli policemen who tried to storm his home and assault his mother.

December 10, 1984

TOWN ARREST RENEWED

YA'ABAD — Israeli authorities have renewed a town arrest imposed on a Palestinian university teacher for another six months.

Sami al-Kilani of Ya abad near Jenin will be confined to his village and have to report to police in Jenin once a week. This is the fifth time the town arrest is renewed on Kilani.

FOUR GAZA YOUTHS JAILED

GAZA — Four youths from Gaza were sentenced by the local military court to various prison terms on charges of membership in an illegal organisation, recruiting others, distributing anti-occupation leaflets and producing explosives.

The four are: Mohammed Taroush, 19; Bassam Salem Joadeh, 16; Riyadh Saleh Dardou neh, 18; and Jamil Mohammed Dardouneh, 17.

The first three were sentenced to 18 months in prison while the last one received one year in prison.

YOUTH SENTENCED FOR MEMBERSHIP

RAMALLAH — The Ramallah military court sentenced Akram Mohammed Mich'el of Jerusalem to three years in prison and three years suspended on charges of membership in a Palestinian organisation.

Mich'el is a former student at the Jordanian University.

DARAWSHEH LEAVES FOR BONN

MK Abd al-Wahab Darawsheh (Labour) intends to continue the initiative he started to attend the PNC Amman meeting. He is to leave for Bonn next Thursday to participate in a conference on the Palestinian cause, sponsored by the Liberal Institute in West Germany. The conference will be attended by Arab figures from the occupied territories and other Arab countries.

PETROL BOMB IN BETHLEHEM

BETHLEHEM — A petrol bomb was thrown at an Arab restaurant in Bethlehem, Israel Radio reported. There were no injuries or damages.

The radio said Israeli troops threw a cordon around the area and began searching for the attackers.

YOUTH'S TRIAL POSTPONED

JERUSALEM — The Israeli magistrate's court in Jerusalem postponed its hearing into the case of Maher Abu Sneineh of Jerusalem until December 19. Maher is charged with inciting by distributing leaflets supporting the Palertine National Council meeting in Amman.

His defence lawyer, Jawad Boulos, told the court that many residents had expressed support for the PNC through the local Arab newspapers and magazines. He asked the court to drop the charges against Maher and release him on bail, but his request was refused.

December 11 1984

1000 DETAINEES AT ANSAR

ANSAR — The number of Palestinian and Lebanese detainees held in Ansar camp in south Lebanon has increased to 1000 Israel's defence minister Yitzhak Rabin disclosed

CALL FOR PERMITTING TRAVEL TO AMMAN

HEBRON — A large number of residents from Hebron district have requested Israeli authorities to allow them to travel to Jordan via the bridges.

The authorities banned residents from travelling to Jordan for the last 12 days

DEMONSTRATION IN NABLUS

NABLUS — A number of youths

staged a demonstration in Nablus to mark International Day for Human Rights.

Youths threw stones at Israeli army troops who responded by firing volleys of tear gas to disperse the demonstrators.

ISRAELI SOLDIER SHOOTS AT GAZA YOUTH

GAZA — An Israeli soldier shot last week at an Arab youth from Gaza riding on a bicycle the Israeli newspaper *HaAretz* said.

The paper said an Israeli soldier standing guard at the Gaza military court during the trial of members of the Islamic organisation suddenly opened fire at an Arab youth passing nearby on a bicycle. The youth was not wounded, the paper said, but he was taken into detention.

MOTHER OF ZIAD ABU AIN APPEALS FOR HIS RELEASE

The mother of Ziad Abu Ain, a Palestinian political prisoner who Israel extradited from the US, sent cables to various international bodies soliciting their support in an attempt to release him from Israeli prison where he is serving a life sentence. It is Abu Ain's third anniversary since extradition.

In her cable, Ziad s mother said her son's name was included in the POW exchange list between the PLO and Israel. But Israel did not release him. The US handed Ziad over to the Israeli authorities in January 1981.

2 YOUTHS JAILED FOR MEMBERSHIP

RAMALLAH — Military court in Ramallah sentenced Jihad Id al-Na'san to four years in prison and four years suspended and Mashur Rizik Na'san to eight months in prison on charges of membership in a Palestinian organisation.

The two are from the village of al-Maghier in the Ramallah district.

PETROL BOMBS

JERUSALEM — Two petrol bombs were thrown at an Israeli bus passing through Shu'fat near Jerusalem. There were no injuries or damages.

YOUTH JAILED FOR MEMBERSHIP

RAMALLAH — Israeli military court in Ramallah sentenced Adnan Fathi Ibrahim Shahin of Artas near Bethlehem to 10 months in prison and three years suspended on charges of membership in a Palestinian organisation.

MOLOTOV COCKTAIL IN NABLUS

NABLUS — A Molotov cocktail was thrown at a shop in the Old City of Nablus but did not explode

Sheikh Sa'eh

continued from page 7

and association with left-wing PLO factions, international communist parties, and the Soviet Union. Opponents use it to indicate that he is no longer a Muslim.

Bassam Sa'eh confirmed his father's good relations with left-wing factions. He mentioned the following episode to illustrate the point. During the 16th session of the PNC in Algiers, whenever disputes and disagreements erupted between the general secretaries of PLO factions, Sheikh Sa'eh was chosen as arbitrator, and his mediation was acceptable to all — including Yasir Arafat and George Habash.

Other Palestinians expresed cynicism regarding Sa'eh's capability to foster national unity. They said several Arab countries and PLO factions with different political programmes and actions are involved in this crisis. They think it will be very difficult for one person — whom they see as part of the problem — to solve.

Bassam Sa'eh disagreed. He said, "My father will not be an obstacle on the road to national unity. If others do not want him in the PNC chairmanship, he will resign and continue his struggle in serving his people.

West Bank Reaction

Far away from political and factional disputes, residents of the occupied territories who watched PNC sessions on Jordanian TV were strongly influenced. This was the first time since the PLO was founded in 1964 that almost everyone had a chance to see their representatives in the Palestinian parliament discuss current political issues in the Palestinian arena. Usually they hear only short news items or see only the briefest Arab TV news clips on PNC meetings.

Most people have been influenced by Yasir Arafat, Salah Khalaf (Abu Iyad) and Sheikh Sa'eh. They appreciated the election of Sa'eh because, they said, "Sa'eh is a God-fearing man who serves his people." Observing his decisive and strong character, his clergyman's personality, his ability to use his authority in the PNC sessions and his assertive style of addressing the executive committee and Chairman Yasir Arafat, Palestinians who watched the coverage of the PNC expressed admiration.

So did son Bassam. He concluded that his father would succeed, with the coordination of other important PLO figures. He predicted his father would "mend the rift and consolidate national unity."

Sheikh Sa'eh is the author of *Social Solidarity in Islam, Islam Between Past and Present, Great Battle Raid, After the Burning of al-Aqsa Mosque,* and *The Place of Jerusalem in Islam.* Soon to be released are two other volumes — *Jews' Assaults against Religious Monuments,* and *International Rights in the International Laws.*

Unequal Development

continued from page 16

state to the local councils and municipalities that are not prepared to tow his line.

In contrast to the campaign of lies and subversion being waged against progressive and militant local authorities, Koenig and the Ministry of the Interior are working to brace up submissive elements who are willing to do their bidding. The village of Kabul in the western Galilee is a typical example of this sort of servility. The regional administrator did not make any allegations about the faulty administration of Kabul. Although the village has a budget deficit of IS164 million, it has the "redeeming" feature of being in the hands of the Labour Alignment-and was thus worthy of being granted a loan to balance its budget. But the conditions laid down by the Ministry of the Interior basically subjugate the local council to the dictates of the regional administrator. Mahmoud Ali Taha, a member of the DFPE oppostion, claims the conditions of the loan included promising not to request additional budgetary allocations; it also gave the regional administrator the power to determine the budget for the village's much-needed development programme; froze the number of civic employees; and cut back the working hours of civic workers currently employed by the council. Moreover, the council promised to press charges against residents who have not paid their taxes. And there were many other conditions to boot.

Budgetary pressure prevents the economic, social and cultural development of Arab society and is an indivisible part of the longstanding Zionist policy of "Judaizing" the country. This policy has had its ups and downs in keeping with the various stages of Zionist settlement and the changing relations of power in the Middle East and the world at large. But one thing has remained constant: the Israeli-Zionist refusal to recognize the national rights of the Arab Palestinian people in the country and their right to self-determination and the establishment of an independent national state. As long as the present policy towards the Palestinian people continues to be based on the elimination of its national existence, the existence of the Arabs in Israel will be in danger. The Arab population of Israel is struggling for "equality — nothing more and nothing less."

But equality cannot be secured by simply abolishing the discriminatory practices used against them; it must include the recognition of this population as a national minority which is an indivisible part of the Arab Palestinian people. Attempts to splinter the Arab population into ethnic groups or to pry it away from its nationalist Palestinian affiliation and tie it to Zionism by way of blackmail and promises will end in failure.

A far-sighted policy based on peace and mutual understanding will undoubtedly be met with an affirmative response from the Arab people; they seek a life of mutual respect and co-existence. Is that too much to ask? (Translation: Derech Ha'Nitzotz, December 1984).

Textbook Indoctrination

continued from page 9

the "green line" runs, it is marked out on a sheet of tracing paper that comes with the map; by placing it over the map, one gets a clear picture of Israel's pre-1967 eastern border. The author also discusses the "green line" in the text. In the teacher's guidebook accompanying the textbook, there is a chapter about Jewish settlement on the West Bank and the geo-political considerations of the settlers. It is indeed unfortunate that a paragraph or two was not included in the pupil's textbook.

Patkin examines the geo-political background to the controversy surrounding the occupied territories by way of a quotation from Professor Elisha Efrat's *The Geography of Settlement in Israel* (Ahisof Publishers, 1981). Efrat's book, which is also of high calibre, is intended for senior high school pupils.

Civics textbooks have led us to geography textbooks and geography textbooks can thus serve as a point of departure for examining other textbooks in an attempt to determine if there are any underlying principles in their composition. Take for instance an innocent-looking booklet about Jewish oral law, intended for the state religious schools and published jointly by the Ministry of Education and Bar Ilan University. The book opens with a discussion about the sanctity of the land of Israel; the discussion includes a quotation from Ramban's writings about the commandment to inherit and settle the land of Israel. Ramban (a medieval Jewish theologian) believed the commandment to be eternal and not incumbent only in Joshua's day. "...We were commanded to kill the seven nations (of biblical Palestine) that made war upon us. If they were ready to make peace, we responded in kind, according to agreed conditions. But they were not permitted to remain in the country... and those who left of their own accord were granted a parcel of land of their own, namely Africa. We were commanded to come unto Israel, conquer the cities therein and settle our tribes throughout the country."

As regards the fluidity of the "green line" and the property rights of the Arabs on the West Bank, the chief Ministry of Education supervisor of geography instruction, Yitzhak Himberger, told me: "We chose an elegant way of being scientifically correct. We're talking about problems that have not yet been solved and much of the controversy over Jewish settlement on the West Bank revolves around the question of who owns the land." Himberger pointed out that the Ministry of Education cannot do what the government has refused to do. "I have yet to see a single official government publication," he said, "that indicates who owns which lands on the West Bank, or for that matter, an official map which clearly marks out the 'green line.' In the *Israel Atlas,* an official publication of the government of Israel, there are blank areas on the map because the authors lacked information on who owns and who is farming certain areas on the West Bank. A lot of information is lacking on account of the fact that a census was never taken. When it comes down to it, we really don't have an official land ownership map."

Himberger went on to say that it was the teachers' job to tell their pupils that there are lands on the West Bank owned by Jews, lands owned by Arabs and publicly-owned land which passed into the government's hands by law in 1967.

As regards the Ministry of Education's approach to the controversy over the occupied territories, the chairperson of the teaching bureau, David Foor, said: "It's a difficult question and I don't have a clear-cut answer. I have the feeling that we've avoided the issue. We didn't take a clear stand and we really didn't cope with the problem on account of its sensitive nature and the fact that it's politically controversial. I'm also not really sure that a comprehensive programme can be designed to cover such a politically complex issue." However, Foor pointed out that a new programme, *Living Together,* devised by the staff of the Van Leer Institute of Jerusalem under the supervision of General Aleuph Hareven, is now being tested in the schools. The Ministry of Education is in the process of adapting the programme together with the Van Leer Institute and in a year or two it will become part of the curriculum. (Translation: HaAretz, November 20, 21, 22, 1984)

Israel Mandates Unequal Development for Palestinian Villages

Being a Palestinian in a Jewish-controlled state means living under *apartheid* rule where government funds, planning and assistance are siphoned to its most favoured citizens. The following article, published in the Israeli progressive monthly *Derech HaNitzotz*, summarises the critical situation facing Palestinian villages in Palestine.

The Arab local councils in Israel have been paralysed of late by the economic crisis looming over the country and government discrimination in favour of Jewish local authorities. For the past few months the municipalities and local councils of Kufr Yasif, Nazareth, Um al-Fahm and other Arab communities throughout Israel have been unable to supply various local services — from garbage collection to the functioning of schools — on account of a chronic budget deficit.

Civic employees have been particularly hard hit. The local authorities have been unable to pay their salaries and, with no end to their budget deficits in sight, the banks have been unwilling to advance the funds so desperately needed by Arab municipalities. The local council of Um al-Fahm, a town of about 25,000 people located in the northern triangle, is in the red to the tune of IS350 million. Its civic employees, who have not received their salaries for two months, recently staged a work stoppage that encompassed the village's main high school. Lack of funds has also meant the town's streets are no longer lit after dark, making it practically impossible to get around at night.

The village lacks an adequate sewage system and the sewers regularly spill over into the street, inundating the heaps of garbage piled beside the villagers' homes. The town has become a living hell for its residents.

In Nazareth — the largest Arab population centre in Israel (and the only one to be granted the status of a fully-fledged city) — the municipality is IS500 million in debt; city employees have not been paid for the past two months. On October 22, 1984, 372 civic employees went out on strike in support of the city council's demand for immediate assistance from the Ministry of the Interior, shutting down municipal services in the city. A similar situation exists in Kufr Yasif; the Yani High School shut its doors and all the municipal workers went out on strike.

The crisis in the Arab sector is much more severe than the one being experienced by the Jewish local councils. Ramez Jaraisi, an engineer who is at present the deputy mayor of Nazareth, explained the key characteristics of the crisis of the Arab local councils in an interview published in *al Ittihad* November 9 and 11. Jaraisi pointd out that the problems of the Arab local councils were linked to the general crisis being experienced by Israeli local councils, but that ramifications of the crisis were not proportionate, given the fact that the Jewish population is really not suffering from a lack of public services. Jaraisi used the example of Upper Nazareth to illustrate his point. "Before a single person took up residence there," he said, "the government had already constructed a central water and sewage system, schools, playgrounds, factories, swimming pools, parks and streets. But in Arab Nazareth the simple feat of acquiring funds to build a new school or pave a road requires a colossal effort." Jaraisi went on to cite seven other factors that accentuate the crisis in the Arab sector:

1. *The Land Problem:* The Israeli government expropriated most of the land owned by Arabs in the framework of Jewish development projects. In Arab villages and cities there are few plots left for construction of civic buildings or private enterprises — which could serve as an additional source of income for Arab local councils.

2. *Constraints on Arab agriculture and industry:* Land expropriation and the lack of government incentives for Arab investors has caused underdevelopment in agriculture and industry. Moreover, both public and private companies have shown a marked reluctance to open factories in the Arab sector.

3. *The problem of a master plan:* There is no master plan for Arab villages and cities. A master plan usually designates areas scheduled for development and itemizes the needs of the population. The government wants to expropriate as much Arab land as possible and has thus procrastinated [since 1948 in many cases — ed.] on preparing a master plan. (This is the reason behind the rash of unlicensed construction in the Arab sector).

4. *The housing problem:* The Ministry of Housing does not construct apartment blocks in the Arab sector.

5. *Lack of school buildings:* According to the Ministry of Education's official statistics, the Arab educational system is short 2,600 classrooms. (This figure does not include offices, staff rooms, labs, etc.) This shortage has forced many Arab councils to rent rooms to serve as classrooms. The Nazareth municipality, for example, paid out IS42 million at the beginning of the present school year for the use of 181 rooms.

"Attempts to splinter the Arab population into ethnic groups or to pry it away from its nationalist Palestinian affiliation... by way of blackmail and promises will fail."

6. *Cutbacks in service personnel:* The government does not allow Arab local authorities to establish sufficiently large service sectors. In Nazareth there are 372 municipal employees to serve a population of about 50,000 people while in Upper Nazareth there are 509 municipal employees to serve a population of 23,000. Thus, in Upper Nazareth there is one municipal employee for every 45 residents, whereas in Arab Nazareth the ratio is one to 123!

Um al-Fahm residents demonstrate in Haifa protesting non-payment of funds to their council's budget: *"IS350 million in the red."*

7. *Lack of funds for development:* In addition to the open discrimination against Arab local councils and municipalities in regard to their ongoing budget allocations, they also suffer from a lack of funds for development. According to 1981 statistics, the budget allocation for each inhabitant of Nazareth stood at IS711 as compared to the national average of IS2210. In other words, Nazareth was granted one-third the amount allocated to a Jewish municipality of the same size. The village councils are even worse off, receiving about one-fifth the amount allocated to Jewish townships.

This legally institutionalized system of discrimination exacerbates and perpetuates the gap between the Arab and Jewish citizens of Israel instead of trying to narrow it.

At the apex of this pyramid of injustice sits the regional administrator who is appointed by the minister of the interior. This draconian set-up dates back to the British Mandate Government and is still in force; the minister of the interior grants the regional administrator extensive authority for overseeing the operation of local councils. His approval is required for the budget, hiring personel, public and private building permits and much more.

Thus, in contravention of all democratic principles, one man wields an unheard of amount of power; his word is law as far as basic resources go. These wide-ranging powers have been exploited to the hilt by the administrator of the northern region (where the majority of Arab residents live), Yisrael Koenig.

Koenig hit the headlines back in 1975 when a racist document he wrote was leaked to the press. The "Koenig Report" included proposals for throttling the economic, social and cultural life of Arab residents in Israel and for "facilitating" their emigration. And this cynical little racist is the lord of the realm in the northern region. "King" Koenig lays down the law for half a million Arab residents — the same man who is on record for being in favour of expelling them from the country. Koenig is in the position to use his authority to prevent elections to Arab local councils and to discriminate against those Arab councils controlled by independent nationalist politicians, whom he does not approve of and wants to undermine.

In the village of Beqa'a for instance, there haven't been elections to the local council in 10 years; meanwhile, the nominal council, responsible for the administration of the village, has done absolutely nothing to improve conditions there. In the village of Abu Snan, the minister of interior postponed elections two days before they were to take place — after the villagers were all set to vote. The local and municipal authorities of Kufr Yasif, Tamrah, Nazareth and many other villages led by members of the DFPE (Democratic Front for Peace and Equality) are being scapegoated and denied budgetary funding on acount of their elected representatives' political affiliations.

Besides refusing the municipality of Nazareth much-needed funds and foiling attempts to ease the city's budgetary crisis, Koenig is also active on both the political and propaganda fronts, smearing the democratically elected council of the city and accusing it of faulty administration. Koenig has lodged similar allegations of incompetence, financial ineptitude, waste and corruption against the Kufr Yasir local council, headed by Nimr Murqus, a member of the central committee of the Communist Party.

Koenig's objective is clear: to shake the faith of the Arab population in its ability to elect independent nationalist politicians and to shift the blame for the councils' inability to operate from the racist policies of the

continued on page 15